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1908.

VOLUME XX.

No. 60.

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

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Translated and Edited
by
Donald Ferguson.

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THE HISTORY OF CEYLON, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1600 A.D.

As Related by João de Barros and Diogo do Coûto.

Translated and Edited by DONALD FERGUSON.

INTRODUCTION.

JOÃO DE BARROS AND DIOGO DO COUTO[1].

JOÃO DE BARROS was born, of noble family, in or about the year 1496[2], and at an early age entered the service of the king Dom Manuel. Like other youths in the royal household he received a good education in the various branches of knowledge, and he developed a special taste for history, his ambition being to write a general history of Portugal. This wish he confided to Dom Manuel in 1520 when presenting the king with a work of fiction that he had composed, entitled *Chronica do Emperador Clarimundo.* Dom Manuel in reply stated that for some time

[1] For the details here given I am indebted largely to the *Lives* of Barros and Couto by Manoel Severim de Faria, printed in the 1778–88 edition of the Decades. Various errors in those *Lives* I have pointed out in footnotes. In the case of Couto, however, the information is based mainly on royal letters and other official documents.

[2] Neither place nor date of birth is known.

he had desired that the affairs of India should be recorded, but that hitherto he had been unable to find a person fitted for the task; that, if Barros liked to undertake it, his labour would not be in vain. Accordingly the young man set about preparing for the work; but in little over a year's time[1] Dom Manuel died, and the scheme had to be abandoned temporarily.

The new king, D. João III., appointed Barros to the captaincy of Mina[2], for which place he sailed in 1522, remaining there for over two years[3]. On his return to Portugal, in May 1525, the king bestowed upon him the office of treasurer of the Casa da India, Mina e Ceuta[4], a post which he held until December 1528, continuing to reside in Lisbon until the outbreak of plague in that city in 1530 drove him to his country-house near Pombal. In 1532 he returned to Lisbon, and was appointed factor of the Casa da India e Mina, an office involving very heavy duties, in spite of which, however, Barros found time to continue his literary pursuits, producing various works, one of the most interesting being a Portuguese grammar (printed 1540), intended for the use of four Paravars who had been brought to Portugal, selected from those converted on the Fishery Coast in 1538.

In 1552 was published in Lisbon the first Decade of Barros's long projected work, with the title *Asia de Joam de Barros, dos fectos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento & conquista dos mares & terras do Oriente*; the second Decade appearing the following year[5]. The death of King D. João III. in 1557 probably delayed the appearance of the third Decade, which was not published until 1563. It is on this work that the fame of Barros rests, and deservedly so; for though he never went further East than to Mina, he took great pains to insure

[1] 13 December 1521.

[2] Erroneously called Elmina (on the Gold Coast of Africa).

[3] Of his doings there he seems to have left no record.

[4] The "India and Colonial Office."

[5] The first seven books of Fernão Lopez de Castanheda's *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India* were published at Coimbra between 1551 and 1554 (the eighth book appearing after his death in 1564). Castanheda had the advantage of Barros in having been in India, and his work is generally accurate and of much value, though his literary style is not to be compared with that of Barros.

accuracy, by consulting persons who had been to India and beyond, and by procuring and having translated chronicles in various oriental languages. Barros intended to complete the history of Portugal by writing similar books on Europe, Africa, and Santa Cruz (Brazil), and he also projected a Universal Geography and a Natural History of the East, its Commerce, &c.; but these and other works that he had in view remained unwritten owing to his arduous official duties.

At the end of 1567, in consequence of the infirmities of age, Barros retired from active work, and King D. Sebastião conferred upon him various privileges and emoluments calculated to free his last years from care. In this retirement, in his country-house near Pombal, Barros died on 20 October 1570, over seventy years of age. His body was interred in a hermitage in the district of Leira, whence it was removed in 1610 to the monastery of Alcobaça by the bishop D. Jorge de Ataide, who caused a monument to be erected over the historian's remains.

Diogo do Couto, like João de Barros, came of noble parentage. He was born in Lisbon in 1543[1], his father, Gaspar do Couto, being in the service of the *infante* Dom Luiz. Hence it was that Diogo, while still a boy, entered the service of the *infante*[2], and, like Barros, Couto received a careful education in the various branches of learning. But the death of his father, following shortly after that of the *infante*[3], obliged him to abandon his studies and take to the profession of arms. In 1559[4] he sailed for India, where he served as a soldier for the space of nine[5] years, taking part in a number of engagements which he describes in his Decades. Early in 1569 he left India

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[1] Man. Sev. de Faria has 1542; but in Dec. VII. viii. ii. Couto says hat he was fifteen years old when he went to India in 1559.

[2] Couto says in VII. viii. ii. that he served the *king* for two years; but in VII. iii. vi. he states that he began to serve the prince Dom Luiz at the age of ten.

[3] Dom Luiz died in 1554.

[4] Man. Sev. de Faria has 1556.

[5] Man. Sev. de Faria says "eight."

for Portugal, meeting at Moçambique his friend the poet Camoens, and arriving at Lisbon in April 1570, to find the city just recovering from another epidemic of plague.

Couto's stay in his native land was but a brief one, for he again left for India in March 1571, never (as it fell out) to return. He settled down as a citizen in Goa, where he married Luiza de Mello, whose brother, Frei Adeodato da Trinidade, a Franciscan, afterwards assisted in the publication of Couto's Decades[1]. Couto was versed in mathematics and geography, and knew Latin and Italian well, writing poetry in both these languages. He also took much interest in the history of India and other countries of Asia, as well as in the manners and customs and religious beliefs of the peoples of those lands. When he first entertained the idea of continuing the work left unfinished by Barros, I do not know; but he appears to have been (consciously or unconsciously) fitting himself for it for many years. It was not, however, until some years after the accession to the throne of Portugal of Philip II. of Spain in 1581 that Couto took any action in this matter. Noticing the great interest taken by this king in all the affairs of the Portuguese oversea dominions, Couto seems to have conceived the idea of writing a volume after the style of one of Barros's Decades, commencing, however, not where Barros left off (at February 1526), but with the year of Philip's proclamation as king of Portugal, 1581. His object in so doing was doubtless to flatter Philip's vanity, and thus insure the royal patronage for the work he proposed; and in this he was successful.

By 1593 Couto had finished the book that forms Decade X.; and on 15 November of that year he wrote to the king informing him of this fact, and begging Philip to pass a provision enabling him to have access to all state documents necessary for his carrying out his project. To this letter the king replied on 28 February 1595, expressing his approval of Couto's intention, asking him to send him the volume he had written[2], and requesting him to commence his work where Barros had left off; adding, that in order that Couto might the

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[1] See below, p. 10, note [2].

[2] It was not, however, sent to the king until 1601.

better do this he had ordered to be passed the provision asked for, and had also appointed Couto chief guardian of the Torre do Tombo that he was ordering to be built in Goa, to which all the papers in the custody of the state secretary of India were to be transferred[1]. Accordingly a Torre do Tombo was built[2], the Indian archives[3] were transferred to it, and Couto was installed therein as *guarda mór*. This installation appears to have taken place in 1596[4].

Meanwhile Couto, in obedience to the king's command, set to work to write the history of India from the point at which Barros had left it, and by the end of 1596 he had completed his Decade IV. and had begun Decade V.[5] He found himself somewhat hampered in his task, however, by the refusal of successive viceroys to allow him access to all official documents, the reason given being that many of these were of too confidential a nature to pass out of the power of the viceroy. The force of this objection Philip recognized, asking, however, that

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[1] See the king's letter to Couto, of 28 February 1595, prefixed to Dec. V.; the *alvará* of 25 February 1595, in *A.P.-O.* iii. 497–8; and chap. xiii. of the royal letter to the viceroy, of 27 February 1595, in *A.P.-O.* iii. 508–9. (In the last Philip tells the viceroy to charge Couto to commence his history where Barros *and Castanheda* left off, from which it would seem that the king knew of the existence in manuscript of Barros's Decade IV., which ends at January 1539, while Castanheda's eighth book terminates in the latter part of 1538.) In view of these documents, and in the absence of any other evidence, I regard as entirely fictitious the statements of Man. Sev. de Faria that the idea of continuing the history of India originated with Philip, that Couto was recommended to him for the work, and that the king incharged the task on Couto, bestowing on him the title of "Chronicler of India." Equally unfounded seems to be the same writer's assertion that it was by Philip's command that Couto wrote Decade X. first.

[2] Inside the fort, next to the Casa da Matricola, or general registry (see *A.P.-O.* iii. 686).

[3] Such as had survived the ravages of damp and white-ants and the carelessness of officials.

[4] See *A.P.-O.* iii. 843.

[5] So the king informs the viceroy, in a letter of 3 (? 5) March 1598 (*A.P.-O.* iii. 842 ff.), on the authority of Couto himself, who had written to Philip to that effect, also saying that he was sending Decade X. (which he did not), that he would send Decades IV. and V. that year (he sent the first only), and that he hoped in future to send a volume each year (a hope that was not entirely fulfilled).

every assistance possible should be afforded to Couto in the preparation of his history[1]. At the same time the king appears to have begun to entertain doubts regarding Couto's capacity for the work that he had intrusted to him[2]. No doubt these suspicions were due to enemies of Couto's; and they were soon set at rest.

By D. Affonso de Noronha, captain-major of the homeward fleet, who left Goa on 21 December 1597, Couto sent his Decade IV. to the king[3]; but Philip II., who had committed to Couto the task of writing this history, was fated not to see a single volume of it: for when the ships reached Lisbon in August 1598 he was already past cure, and he died on 13 September. In a letter[4], dated 20 November 1597, accompanying this volume Couto states that he had already completed six Decades, viz., IV., V., VI., and X., XI., XII.[5], these last three having been written before he received the royal command to go back and begin where Barros left off. The history of the intervening period, he adds, he will strive to write, if life and the royal favour be continued to him. The receipt of this letter and the sight of the volume that it accompanied seem to have dispelled any doubts that the new king Philip III. may have had in regard to Couto's capabilities, and we find him writing now and then to his viceroy to afford the historian all the assistance he might require[6]. In accordance with his

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[1] See *A.P.-O.* iii. 842–5, 498 *n.*

[2] In his letter of 15 February 1597 (*A.P.-O.* iii. 710–1), the king speaks of having incharged the writing of the history of India upon one Diogo do Couto of Goa, and requests the viceroy to obtain information as to his talent for the task; while in his letter of 3 (5) March 1598 (*A.P.-O.* iii. 845–6), the crown prince tells the viceroy that he learns that Couto is not as capable as he was at first informed, and that he has a fault in his birth: regarding which matters he orders the viceroy to inquire in consultation with the archbishop of Goa, and that if they find him not fit to be intrusted with the history, or the care of the Torre do Tombo, the king is to be advised thereof, Couto being dissembled with meanwhile.

[3] As he states in Dec. XII. I. ix.

[4] It is prefixed to the printed edition of Dec. IV.

[5] Probably no more than the first five books of this Decade.

[6] See royal letters of 11 January 1599 (c. 5), 25 January 1601 (c. 1). 31 January 1602 (c. 22), and 26 February 1602 (c. 2), in Brit. Mus. Lib. Additl. Mss. 20861–2.

expressed intention to send the king a volume each year, Couto seems to have kept back Decade V., in order to forward it by the homeward fleet of 1599[1]; but he was unable to do this, the ships that were to have left Portugal for India in March 1598 having been prevented from sailing by an English armada under the command of the Earl of Cumberland blockading the mouth of the Tagus[2]. It is probable therefore that he sent this volume, together with Decade VI., by the homeward fleet of 1600[3].

In compliance with a request of the king's, and possibly because his seventh Decade was not quite complete, Couto sent to Philip III. by the fleet leaving India in 1602[4] the volume that he had "finished" so far back as 1593, and for which Philip III. had several times asked in vain, viz., Decade X.[5] By one of the ships of the homeward fleet of 1602 Couto forwarded his Decade VII.[6]; but unfortunately this vessel, the *São Tiago*, was captured by the Dutch at St. Helena on 16 March after a severe fight, Couto's manuscript perishing with all other documents on board[7]. On receiving the news of this disaster, which might have staggered a younger man, Couto (who seems to have sent home nothing by the fleet of 1603) with characteristic energy set to work and re-wrote the whole Decade, completing it in time to send it to the king by the ships that left India for Portugal in 1604. Well might he say, in the letter[8] to King Philip that accompanied this

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[1] In his letter of 6 November 1603 (prefixed to Dec. VII.) Couto states that he sent the fourth *and fifth* Decades by the armada of 1597–8, but in his letter of 20 November 1597 (quoted above), and in Dec. XII. I. ix., he distinctly mentions only Decade IV. as having being sent.

[2] See *Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, Introd. xli. *n.*

[3] Couto in his letter of 6 November 1603 (*u.s.*) says only that he sent his sixth Decade by this fleet.

[4] See Couto's letter of 6 November 1603 (*u.s.*).

[5] Internal evidence shows that between 1593 and 1600 Couto must have made additions to and alterations in this Decade.

[6] See his letter of 6 November 1603 (*u.s.*).

[7] See Faria y Sousa *Asia Port.* III. II. vi. 5. According to this writer the galleon itself was destroyed; but Valentyn tells us (*Sumatra* 29) that the two Dutch ships (*Zeelandia* and *Langebercque*) carried her to Zealand, where silver medals were struck in commemoration of the event.

[8] Dated 6 November 1603.

volume :—" Every time (most Catholic and powerful king and our lord) that I consider the brevity and little time in which I finished five Decades of the History of India, which by command of the most Catholic king D. Filippe, your father of glorious memory and the first of that name[1], I went continuing on the three of João de Barros[2], . . . certainly I myself marvel : because I know not what spirit led me to gather and discover things that were so forgotten, and of which there was almost no remembrance ; and of countries so distant and separated as are from remote Maluco to the Cape of Good Hope : for which were necessary seasons and monsoons, in order to send for and get the matters and information so that the History might be written." No wonder, also, that his letter to the king concludes hopefully with these words :—" And I beg your majesty to be pleased to accept this small service, in order that with the more gusto I may prosecute this History, which the king your father and your majesty have enjoined on me, until I arrive at the time of your majesty, whom may our Lord preserve in health and long years of life, as is necessary to all Christendom ;"—for on 10 February 1602 Philip III. had written to Couto[3] acknowledging a letter of his, with suggestions regarding the Torre do Tombo, of which the king expressed approval, adding that he had ordered provisions to be passed[4], which he was commanding the viceroy to have fulfilled[5]. Philip concluded his letter thus :—" I have seen the Decades of the History of India that you sent me[6], in which I consider myself very well served by you, and in the good manner in which you are proceeding with this, which I enjoin on you to go on

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[1] That is, the first King Philip of Portugal.

[2] Couto then specifies the Decades and the years in which he sent them, as I have stated above.

[3] The letter is prefixed to Dec. V.

[4] This provision, dated 13 February 1602, is printed in a footnote in *A.P.-O.* iii. 498–501. It refers to the provision of 25 February 1595 (see above), which, it says, had not yet been fulfilled, and proceeds to formulate it anew, ordering that it be duly carried out.

[5] The letter to the viceroy containing this command is dated 31 January 1602.

[6] These were Decs. IV., V., VI., and X.

continuing, and sending me all that you shall do, in order to have it printed, for which reason I shall keep in mind your services, in order to do you the favor that I shall think well."

Another thing that inspired Couto with hope was probably the receipt, shortly before he penned his letter to the king, of a copy of his Decade IV. in print, it having been published in Lisbon in 1602. But it is just at this point that Couto's outturn of Decades falls off, the reason not being evident. As we have seen, according to his own statement, he had completed Decades X., XI., and XII. (only half of this last probably) by 1595; and of these the first had been dispatched to Portugal. Why the other two were not sent immediately afterwards I do not know; probably they were kept back for revision. When they were actually sent we have no record to show: all we know is, that they were in Portugal by 1614[1], and that the half Decade XII. at any rate was not sent home before 1612[2]. It must be remembered that Couto was now over sixty years of age, and had spent the greater part of his life in India. The high pressure at which he had been working to produce so many volumes in addition to carrying out his official duties doubtless began to tell on him, and he realized with regret that he was no longer able to produce a Decade each year, as he had hoped to do.

From the time when he wrote his letter of 6 November 1603 to the king until the early part of 1611[3] I can find not a single reference to him in the official documents: we only know that he continued to hold his office of *guarda mór* of the Torre do Tombo, and we may surmise that he continued with the compilation of the two Decades (VIII. and IX.) needed to fill the existing gap. From a royal letter to the viceroy,

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[1] So Couto states in his letter of 28 January 1616 (prefixed to Dec. VIII.).

[2] This is proved by the fact that in XII. iii. v. Couto speaks of "this [year] of 1611 in which I write this."

[3] In a letter of 9 March 1611 (*Doc. Rem.* ii. 77) to the viceroy the king refers to his letter of 5 March 1598, and his provisions of 1595 and 1602, which he orders to be fulfilled, and he gives certain instructions for Couto to carry out in connection with his duties at the Torre do Tombo.

dated 3rd February 1614[1], we learn that Couto had written to the king (at the end of 1612 evidently), but this was on a matter connected with his duties, and had nothing to do with his History of India. During that year (1612) Couto's Decade V. had been published in Lisbon[2], and in 1614 Decade VI. was all printed[3], awaiting only the preliminary leaves and the title-page, when a disastrous fire took place in the printer's premises, whereby many of the copies were destroyed[4]. The sight of these two Decades in print, and the receipt of Decades XI. and XII. in manuscript from Couto, were probably the causes that moved Philip III. to write to his viceroy (D. Jeronimo de Azevedo) on 21 February 1615 as follows[5]:—"Having respect to the services of Diogo do Couto, *guarda mór* of the Torre do Tombo of that state, and to the continuation and work with which he proceeds in the said office and in the writing of the histories of those parts that he has taken upon himself, I think well to bestow upon him the favor of five hundred xerafins each year during his life[6], and that for the exercise of the said occupations be given him two clerks who may assist him therein, who shall be paid quarterly, in the form in which those of the secretary of that state are paid; with the declaration that he actually has them, and that this shall be made manifest by certificate, before payment

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[1] See *Doc. Rem.* iii. 38.

[2] I do not know why there should have been such a delay in the printing of this and the subsequent Decades, unless it were the death, in 1605, of Couto's brother-in-law, Fr. Adeodato da Trinidade, to whom the king had committed the task of seeing the volumes through the press.

[3] According to Barbosa Machado (*Bibl. Lusit.* i. 10), this Decade was altered by Couto's brother-in-law, Fr. Adeodato da Trinidade (who died in 1605). A comparison of this Decade with Francisco d'Andrada's *Cronica do .... rey .... D. João III.*, published 1613, shows that much of the matter in both works is identical.

[4] Man. Sev. de Faria says that the only copies that escaped were six that happened to be in the convent of St. Augustine in Lisbon. This is a manifest error, as many more than six copies of this edition (for which no title-page and prefatory matter were ever printed) are in existence.

[5] See *Doc. Rem.* iii. 254–5.

[6] *Cf.* Bocarro xviii.

be made to him for them. I enjoin upon you and charge you much that you tell him of the favor that I am bestowing upon him, and that you order to be passed to him the necessary dispatches, in the form that is notified to you"[1]. This shows that King Philip appreciated Couto's services; but as the historian was now over the three score years and ten, it was unlikely that he would long enjoy the royal grant, and so it proved.

Before passing on, however, I must mention that during the year in which the king wrote the above letter (1615) there was published in Lisbon what professed to be Barros's Decade IV. The manuscript left by Barros had, by the king's orders, been intrusted to João Baptista Lavanha[2], principal cosmographer of Portugal, who not only altered the order of events as Barros had arranged them, but actually interpolated in the text passages written by himself, some of them utterly anachronistic[3]. He also added footnotes embodying information from Couto's Decade IV. and from other writers. Consequently it is impossible to say how much of this work is actually by Barros, and whether he is responsible for this or that statement occurring in it.

In 1616 was published in Lisbon Couto's Decade VII., a copy of which he was, however, destined never to see. Meanwhile an event had taken place in India that embittered Couto's last days and will ever remain a matter of vexation to students of the history of Portuguese Asia. The old man tells the story in a letter[4] to King Philip written from Goa, 28 January 1616. It seems that by the end of 1614 he had completed Decades VIII. and IX., and was to have sent them in 1615 to the king; but some evil-disposed person stole the

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[1] On the margin of the original is the note:—"He was informed of it and a dispatch was passed to him."

[2] According to Man. Sev. de Faria two persons had previously been intrusted with the work of editing, but neither had been able to fulfil the task.

[3] See the caustic remarks of Faria y Sousa in the *Advertencias* prefixed to tom. I. of his *Asia Portuguesa*. And yet Man. Sev. de Faria highly commends this piece of patchwork, which he describes as "one of the best books that we have today in our vulgar tongue."

[4] Prefixed to Dec. VIII.

volumes[1], intending (so Couto thought) after the death of the author to publish them as his (the thief's) production[2]. In consequence of this catastrophe Couto set to work, and with amazing energy succeeded in the course of the year in compiling a summary of the whole of the eighth and a good part of the ninth Decade[3]. This he dispatched to the king by the homeward ships of 1616, accompanying the manuscript with the letter referred to above, probably the last he ever wrote to Philip, for on 10 December 1616 Couto died, at the good old age of 73. The news of his death was conveyed to the king by the viceroy D. Jeronimo de Azevedo in the following letter[4] :—

SIRE,—Diogo do Couto, *guarda mór* of the Torre do Tombo of this State, and who was writing the history of it by order of your majesty, is dead. And as in his lifetime, because of his being so deserving and old, and because of the great persistency with which he addressed me regarding it, I granted him that on his death the said office of *guarda mór* should go to Domingos de Castilho[5], married to a niece of his, whom he had in place of daughter[6], and to this end passed to him an *alvará* of reminder,

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[1] Man. Sev. de Faria says that at the time Couto was seriously ill, but what his authority is for this statement I do not know ; Couto says nothing in his letter of any illness.

[2] Whatever the object of the theft, the manuscripts were evidently destroyed, as no trace of them has ever been found.

[3] The summary of Dec. IX. goes only as far as July 1575, so that five years and a half remain unrecorded. At the end of this fragment is a note, presumably by Couto:—"I reached thus far, and did not get further."

[4] Printed, from the *Livro das Monções* No. 12, last fol., in the *Chronista de Tissuary* iv., No. 41 (May 1869), p. 82.

[5] Couto mentions this man in Dec. XII. II. vii. as taking part in the attack on Cunhale in 1599. He calls him a "native of Ceita." The only other reference to him that I have found is in a royal letter of 22 February 1613 (*Doc. Rem.* ii. 330), from which it seems that he killed a certain Francisco de Mello whom he found in his house for the purpose, as he suspected, of committing adultery with his wife, whom also he was inclined to kill, until she showed his suspicions to be baseless. Domingos de Castilho was acquitted of the murder, but it was left open to the relatives of the slain man to take action against him within twenty years.

[6] Couto had but one child, a daughter, who died unmarried.

I found myself obliged to fulfil it to him : and so in virtue thereof there passed a letter of the said office to the said Domingos de Castilho for it to be confirmed by your majesty. And nevertheless the said Domingos de Castilho has not the talent for continuing the history, and of the subjects over here, of whom, it seems to me, one can take account for this occupation, which must always go united with the said office of *guarda mór*, I find that the most suitable is the licentiate Nicoláo da Silva[1], who was chief justice of this supreme court, and served with satisfaction both in it as well as in other offices of importance in which he was employed, and is very experienced, and of much learning, and besides these good qualities uniting in his person, and his being well equipped with one thing and another, I shall receive a favour from your majesty[2] in all that you shall be pleased to do to him. God keep, &c. From Goa, 30 December 1616.

That the king did not confirm the above appointment (though why, we can only surmise) is evident from the following passage in a letter[3] of 12 February 1620, from the governor Fernão de Albuquerque to the king :—" The office of *guarda mór* of the Torre do Tombo, which fell vacant by the death of Diogo do Couto, has been badly bestowed upon Gaspar d'Ares[4], upon whom the count[5] bestowed it on the petition of the city, and it is very important to the service of your majesty to order this office to be bestowed upon a person of understanding, and that he do his duty." What the result of this representation was, I do not know ; but the death of Philip III. in 1521 probably put an end for a time to the idea

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[1] Bocarro mentions (cap. xii.) that in 1613 the viceroy and council at Goa resolved to send to Ormuz a person with the powers of *veador da fazenda*, and chose for that purpose " the licentiate Nicolau da Silva, in whom were united the qualities of intelligence, integrity, good discourse, and all else that could be desired for such an office."

[2] When D. Jeronimo wrote this the king had probably already given instructions for his arrest and deportation from India in fetters (see Bocarro, cap. lxxxvi.).

[3] Printed from *Livro das Monções* 22, fol. 450, in the *Chron. de Tissuary*, *u.s.*

[4] I can find no reference elsewhere to this man.

[5] D. João Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, who succeeded D. Jeronimo de Azevedo as viceroy in November 1617, and died 10 November 1619.

of continuing the Decades[1]. It was not until nine years after his accession that Philip IV. wrote to the viceroy, the Conde de Linhares, to look for a man to continue the history of India, in accordance with which command António Bocarro was chosen[2], who, however, wrote the history of only five years, and, through a misunderstanding, commenced his record with the succession to the viceroyalty of D. Jeronimo de Azevedo in December 1612[3], thus leaving a period of twelve years unchronicled.

We have seen above that up to the time of Couto's death four of his Decades had been printed, viz., the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh. Decade VIII. (or rather the summary thereof made by Couto) was not printed until 1673, when it was published in Lisbon, but from a faulty manuscript apparently[4]. The fragmentary summary of Decade IX. was never published separately, but first appeared in 1736 in conjunction with the preceding Decades. Of Decade X. 120 pages were printed, to form part of this edition, but for some reason the volume was never finished[5]; so that it was not until 1788 that this Decade, the first that Couto wrote, appeared complete in print[6], forming part of the 1778–88 edition of Barros and

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[1] See, however, Teixeira de Aragão, *Descr. Ger. e Hist. das Moedas*, &c., iii. 79, where it is stated that by an *alvará* of 21 May 1620 Fernão de Albuquerque appointed João Vasco Casco (?) in substitution of Gaspar Aires (*sic*); that on 31 December 1622 D. Fran. da Gama appointed to the office Gaspar de Sousa de Lacerda, knight of St. James, on 14 November 1623 Alvaro Pinto Coutinho, intitled cosmographer, and on 2 December 1626 Bartholomeu Galvão, "with the charge also of continuing to write the history."

[2] See Bocarro Introd. xvii.

[3] See Bocarro Introd. xvii. 2, 377.

[4] Inn. Fran. da Silva, in his *Dicc. Bibl. Port.* ii. 154, says that, among other faults, this edition is "full of locutions and phrases very different from the style of Couto." The British Museum Library contains a manuscript, written in 1654, of this summary of Dec. VIII., which varies much from the printed edition. (It is evidently a duplicate of the manuscript owned by the Visconde de Azevedo, described in Silva's *Dicc. Bibl. Port.* ix., supplt. 122–3.)

[5] See Silva's *Dicc. Bibl. Port.* ix., supplt. 122.

[6] From a manuscript in the library of the convent da Graça in Lisbon (*Dicc. Bibl. Port.* ii. 154).

Couto's Decades. The first five books of Decade XII. (evidently all that Couto wrote of it) were published in 1645, not in Portugal, but in Paris, from a manuscript discovered there by the Portuguese consul. The fate of Decade XI. is an unsolved mystery. That Couto wrote it and sent it to Portugal, we have already seen; and that the manuscript was extant for many years afterwards seems certain, since Faria y Sousa claims to have used it in compiling the third volume of his *Asia Portuguesa*[1]; but it had disappeared by the eighteenth century, and no trace of it has been discovered since—a most serious and irreparable loss.

The Present Translation.

In the following translation I have endeavoured to be as literal as possible, and have not hesitated to employ a number of words now obsolete in English, which are recorded in the New English Dictionary. For convenience sake I have made the translation from the standard edition of Barros-Couto of 1778–88, but have corrected it by the earliest printed editions of the Decades, and in the case of Decades VIII. to X. by the early manuscript in the British Museum Library referred to in a footnote above. I have also restored the spelling of proper names as given in the earliest versions: hence a sacrifice of uniformity. The only liberty I have taken is with the punctuation, which I have altered where necessary, in many cases splitting up paragraphs and sentences, some of the latter, especially in Couto, being terribly long.

In the notes to each chapter I have given in as succinct a form as possible such information from other sources as I thought needful for the better understanding of the matters dealt with. The gathering of this information has cost me

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[1] See the Prologue and list of manuscripts in tom. I. And yet, if we examine the history of the period covered by the lost Decade as narrated by Faria y Sousa, we can find nothing (except, possibly, one short passage) to lead us to suppose that he had made the slightest use of Couto's work.

no little time and trouble; and I hope that the facts recorded (many of them for the first time in English) will prove of interest to students of Ceylon history.

I have to express my thanks to Mr. H. C. COTTLE, Ceylon Government Printer, for the pains he has taken to insure accuracy in the spelling of names, &c.

D. F.

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BARROS.

DECADE I.

593–1506 A.D.

BEGINNING with the rise of Islam in 593, Barros describes the occupation of Spain by the Moors, the elevation of Portugal to a separate kingdom, and the expulsion of the Moors from Europe. He then treats of the navigator Prince Henry, and the various Portuguese voyages of discovery during the 15th century, culminating in the pioneer voyage to India of Vasco da Gama in 1497. The subsequent expeditions to India are then described, including that of the first viceroy D. Francisco de Almeida, in 1505; and almost at the end of the Decade we are told of the "discovery" of Ceylon by the viceroy's son, D. Lourenço de Almeida.

For several years after Vasco da Gama's pioneer voyage to India, 1497–9, the Portuguese, though well aware that the finest cinnamon came from Ceylon, made no attempt to open up direct communication with that island. The reasons for this I have explained fully in my paper on "The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506," and need therefore here only say that the principal reason was that they were able to obtain a sufficiency of cinnamon for their homeward ships from the Moorish merchants at Calicut and Cochin, and that the Malabar ports supplied them with abundance of pepper, which spice always formed the bulk of their cargoes for Europe.

Sinhalese Rulers in Ceylon.—Víra Parákrama Báhu VIII., 1485–1505 (Kóṭṭé); Vijaya Báhu VII., 1505–34 (Dondra and Kóṭṭé).

DEC. I., BK. V., CHAP. VI.

*   *   *   *   *   *   *

...... He[1] learnt that from Cochij, a city some twenty miles from there, had set sail a ship, which had come from the

[1] Cóge Cemecerij, a leading Moor of Calicut, who was jealous of the greater confidence placed in his rival Cóge Bequij by the Portuguese factor Aires Correa, and sought for some means of revenge. The time is October 1500.

island of Ceilam, and carried seven elephants, which it was conveying for sale to the kingdom of Cambaya[1]; and it belonged to two merchants of the same Cochij, who were called Mammále Mercar and Cherina Mercar[2] .... he went to Aires Correa, and pretending that in this he was doing him a service, told him that he had had news, that from the port of Coulam[3] had set sail a ship laden with all kinds of spicery, with which he could well load two of our ships, and that it was bound for Mecha, and on the way had to take in some ginger at Cananor[4] ......

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Dec. I., Bk. vi., Chap. vi.

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...... The king of Cochij during this time had not yet seen the admiral[5]; and because he learnt [November 1502] that there was about to enter his port a ship of Calecut, which was coming from Ceilam, and which belonged to a Moor of Calecut called Nine Mercar, fearing that Vincente Sodre on going out would capture it, he sent and begged the admiral that he would not impede that ship, which he wished to enter that port of his, although it was from Calecut[6] ......

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[1] Cambay was at this time one of the chief markets for the sale of Ceylon elephants (see Barb. 55, 64, 167; and *infra*, p. 23).

[2] These two brothers were the leading Moorish merchants at Cochin, and their operations were very widespread. The Laccadives were known to the early Portuguese as "the islands of Mamale" (see Pyr. i. 323 *n.*, ii. 481), and this man had a monopoly of the Maldive trade until deprived of it by the Portuguese.

[3] Quilon. The edition of 1778 has "Ceilão."

[4] Misled by this story, the Portuguese attacked the ship, which, worsted in the fight, took refuge in the bay of Cananor, whence the victors conveyed it to Calicut, where the Portuguese "common people" feasted on the flesh of the elephants that had been killed in the engagement. Discovering the fraud, the Portuguese commander, Pedralvares Cabral, returned the vessel to its captain, with apologies for the damage done. Such is Barros's version, but Castanheda (I. xxxvii.) simply says that the samuri, wishing to buy an elephant, asked the Portuguese to intercept the ship.

[5] Vasco da Gama.

[6] Since the massacre at Calicut, in December 1 500, of the factor Aires Correa and between thirty and forty others, the Portuguese had declared unceasing war against Calicut and all connected therewith.

DEC. I., BK. X., CHAP. V.

How the viceroy sent his son Dom Lourenço to discover the islands of Maldiva and the island of Ceilam; and what he did on this voyage until he returned to Cochij.

The Moors who engaged in the traffic of the spiceries and riches of India, seeing that with our entrance into it they could no longer make their voyages because of these armadas that we maintained on the Malabár coast, at which they all called, sought for another new route by which to convey the spiceries that they obtained from the parts about Maláca, such as cloves, nutmegs, mace, sandalwood, pepper, which they obtained from the island of Çamatra at the ports of Pedir and Pacem, and many other things from those parts; which route they followed by coming outside of the island of Ceilam and between the islands of Maldiva, crossing that great gulf until they reached the mouths of the two straits that we have mentioned[1], in order to avoid this coast of India which we had closed to them. When the viceroy learnt of this new route that they were taking, and also of the island of Ceilam, where they loaded cinnamon because all that was to be found in those parts was there, on the ground of the great importance that it would be to the king's service to stop that route, and to discover that island, and also those of Maldiva, by reason of the coir that was obtained from them, which was the one essential for all the Indian navigation, all the rigging being made of it, he determined to send his son Dom Lourenço on this enterprise, it being the monsoon weather for that passage[2]. The latter took nine sail of those that formed his armada; and owing to the little knowledge that our people had of that route, although they took with them some natives, they were carried by the currents to the island of Ceilam, which the ancients call Tapobrana, regarding which we shall give a copious relation[3] when we come to describe what Lopo Soarez did there when he founded a fortress in one of its ports called Columbo, which is fourteen leagues above that of Gale, at which Dom Lourenço made landfall[4], which is at the point

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[1] The "two straits" are those of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, the spice trade with which, before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, Barros describes in I. VIII. i.

[2] On this see my "Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506," in C.A.S. Jl., vol. xix., No. 59 (1907), where I show the date to have been September 1506.

[3] See III. II. i. (p. 29 ff.).

[4] On this error see my "Discovery of Ceylon," pp. 308–9, and *cf. infra*, p. 27, note [3].

of the island, in which he found many ships of Moors, who were engaged in loading cinnamon and elephants for Cambáya[1], who when they saw themselves surrounded by our armada, in order to secure their persons and property, pretended to desire peace with us, and that the king of Ceilam had enjoined upon them that when they crossed over to the coast of India they were to notify the viceroy to send him some person to conclude peace and friendship with the king of Portugal on account of his proximity to his captains and the fortresses that they were making in India, and also because of the cinnamon that was in that island of his, and other wares, which he could give him for the loading of his ships by way of trade. As Dom Lourenço had set out to discover and capture the ships of the Moors of Mecha that were sailing from the strait to Maláca by that new route, and as by the cargo of elephants that these had, as well as from other information that he received from the native pilots that he carried, he knew them to be ships of Cambáya, with which we were not at war, he did not wish to do them any harm; and also because of arriving with an armed force at that port, where the Moors had spread the report that the Portuguese were sea-pirates; so he rather accepted what they offered on behalf of the king. And by their means he got together some of the people of the country, with whose approval he erected a stone *padram*[2] on a rock, and upon it ordered to be cut some letters saying how he had arrived there, and had discovered that island; and Gonçalo Gonçalvez, who was the stone-cutter that did the work, although he was not a Hercules to boast of the *padrões* of his discovery, because these were in a place of such renown, put his name at the foot of it; and so Gonçalo Gonçalvez remains more truly the stone-cutter of that pillar than Hercules is the author of many that the Greeks attributed to him in their writings[3].

When the Moors saw that Dom Lourenço trusted in the words that they spoke to him on behalf of the king, they pretended to go and come with messages to him, and finally brought four hundred *bahåres* of cinnamon of that which they had collected on shore for loading, saying that the king in token of the peace and amity which he desired to have with the king of Portugal, although it had not been agreed to by his ambassadors, offered him all that cinnamon to load his ships with, if he wished. And because Dom Lourenço said that he

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[1] See p. 21, note [1].

[2] Regarding this *padrão* see my paper cited, pp. 311–2.

[3] Barros alone gives these details.

wished to send a message to the king, they offered to take and bring back the persons that he should select for that purpose, who were, Payo de Sousa, who went in the capacity of ambassador, and for his clerk Gaspar Diaz, son of Martim Alho, a resident of Lisbon, and Diogo Velho, a servant of Dom Martinho de Castellobranco, the king's comptroller of revenue, who afterwards became Conde de Villanova, and one Fernam Cotrim, and other persons of his service[1]. These being intrusted to the Moors who had arranged this expedition were conducted through such dense thickets that they could scarcely see the sun, taking so many turns that it seemed to them more like a labyrinth than a direct road to any place; and after travelling for a whole day they brought them to an open place, where were many people, and at the end of it were some houses of wood which seemed to be something superior, where they said he had come to take his pleasure, that place being a kind of country-seat. At the end of this open space, at a good distance from the houses, they made them wait, saying that it was not proper for them to go further without leave of the king; and they began to go and come with messages and questions to Payo de Sousa, as if they came from the king, feigning to be pleased at his coming. Finally Payo de Sousa with only two of his company was conducted to that place, where, according to the Moors, was the person of the king; and as soon as they reached him he at once dispatched them, feigning to be pleased at seeing things of the king of Portugal's, giving thanks to Payo de Sousa for coming and to the captain-major for sending them to him; and saying that as regarded the peace and amity that he desired to have with the king of Portugal, he would send his ambassadors to Cochij, and that in token thereof he had sent the cinnamon, and would order to be given them whatever they might need for the provision of the armada; and with this he dispatched him. The which manner of Payo de Sousa's going and coming at the hand of these Moors, and his arrival at this place, and the conversation that he had with this person, who they told him was the king of Ceilam,—the whole was a trick of theirs, and in a way a representation of things that did not exist, part of which Payo de Sousa understood, and afterwards knew of a truth. For this man with whom he spoke, although from the bearing of his person and the reverence paid to him by his people he seemed to be what they said, was not the king of Ceilam, but the lord of the port of Galle; and others had it that it was not he, but some other noble personage, who by his order and the

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[1] On the embassy see my paper referred to, pp. 309–10.

artifice of the Moors showed himself to our people in that manner and place, to the end that for that time they might secure their ships; and whilst they were occupied in this, they would collect the goods that they had on shore, which they did.

When Dom Lourenço learnt from Payo de Sousa what had passed, and perceived how matters stood, he dissembled with the Moors, because, as that island was under a heathen king (although at that time there was no certain knowledge of its affairs), it seemed to him that, whether it were he with whom Payo de Sousa spoke, or not, the whole might have been arranged by him, all the heathen kings being very superstitious in their mode of communication with us, and that perchance the Moors had frightened him that he should not do it; so without desiring to inquire further into the matter, because the weather would not allow his remaining longer in that port, where he ran risks, he set sail to return to Cochij. And because Nuno Vaz Pereira, through the rough weather that had forced them to leave, broke the mainyard of his ship, he found it necessary to return once more to the port[1], where he found that our *padram* was already blackened by fire, as if they had lighted one at the foot of it; and on asking the reason of this of the Moors who were there, they laid the blame on the heathens of the country, saying that the latter being an idolatrous people had their fancies about a thing wherever it was made. Nuno Vaz, dealing with the matter in the form of threats if they carried this further, overlooked the past offence; and having mended the yard of his ship returned to Dom Lourenço, whom he found on the coast of India in a place called Berinjam[2], which is in the lordship of Coulam. And because some Moors who were there had taken part in the murder of Antonio de Sá[3], Dom Lourenço went ashore and burnt the village; in which affair moreover there was blood shed, both of the natives and of our people, owing to the resistance that they made to the landing and the burning of certain ships that were there awaiting cargo; and having taken this revenge for the injury that those Moors had done, Dom Lourenço left for Cochij, where he arrived with his fleet.

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[1] Barros alone relates this incident.

[2] Vilinjam in Travancore, 12 miles south of Trivandrum.

[3] At Quilon in 1505.

BARROS.

DECADE II.

1506–1515 A.D.

Portuguese Governors of India.—D. Francisco de Almeida, viceroy, to October 1509; Affonso de Albuquerque, governor, October 1509 to September 1515.

Sinhalese Rulers in Ceylon.—Vijaya Báhu VII., 1505–34 (Dondra and Kóṭṭé); Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX., 1508–27 (Kóṭṭé).

The only reference to Ceylon in this Decade is that here given, of great importance, in that it testifies to the fact that Columbo, and not Galle, was the port at which the Portuguese made landfall when they first "discovered" Ceylon.

For other visits to Ceylon by the Portuguese during this period, see my paper already referred to.

Dec. II., Bk. iii., Chap. i.

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...... While thus giving final orders in the matters of this fleet against the Rooms[1] and the cargo of spicery for the ships that had to come that year to this kingdom, as cinnamon was wanting for them, he sent Nuno Vaz Pereira[2] in the ship *Sancto Spirito* to the island of Ceilam to bring it, who had come from Sofalá in the ships of the fleet of Jórge de Mello, handing over the fortress to Vásco Gomez Dabreu, as mentioned above[3]. By which journey he got nothing, only there came with him

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[1] Turks (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*).

[2] See p. 25. The time is September–October 1508.

[3] In II. i. vi.

Garcia de Sousa, who had been there since the expedition he made when he went to supply the ships of Ruy Soarez[1]: and the cause of his not bringing cinnamon was that the king of the country was very ill[2], and the Moors had incited the heathen to hatred of us. And though Nuno Vaz might have done them harm, he bore an order from the viceroy that he should not levy war, by reason of the peace that his son Dom Lourenço had agreed to, the witness of which was the *padram* that he left standing in the town of Columbo, which Nuno Vaz saw[3].

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[1] Who had arrived at Cape Comorin after the south-west monsoon had burst, and was in danger of losing his ship.

[2] Barros only records this fact.

[3] Here Barros flatly contradicts his assertion in I. x. v. (pp. 22, 24) that Galle was the port at which the *padrão* was erected.

BARROS.

DECADE III.

1515–1526 A.D.

Portuguese Governors of India.—Lopo Soares de Albergaria, governor, September 1515 to September 1518; Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, governor, September 1518 to January 1522; D. Duarte de Menezes, governor, January 1522 to September 1524; D. Vasco da Gama, viceroy, September to December 1524; D. Henrique de Menezes, governor, January 1525 to February 1526.

Sinhalese Rulers in Ceylon.—Vijaya Báhu VII., 1505–34 (Dondra and Kótté); Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX., 1508–27 (Kótté).

Portuguese Captains of Columbo.—D. João da Silveira, 1518–20 (?); Lopo de Brito, 1520(?)–2; Fernão Gomes de Lemos, 1522–4.

The chief events in connection with the history of Ceylon described in this Decade are the erection of a fort at Columbo in 1518 by Lopo Soares de Albergaria; the subsequent siege (in 1620) by the Sinhalese of that fort, which was defended against them by the captain João de Brito; and its demolition by royal command in 1524. In bk. II. chap. i. Barros gives a learned dissertation on Ceylon as known to the ancients, and a succinct description of the island as it was in the middle of the sixteenth century.

DEC. III., BK. I., CHAP. X.

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...... And he[1] also sent Antonio de Saldanha [in April 1518] with a fleet of six sail to the coast of Arabia, as the king Dom Manuel had commanded; and he did not take as many rowing vessels as he had intended to take, because Lopo Soarez

[1] The governor Lopo Soares.

had need of them for the Ceilam expedition, as will be seen further on. . . . . . he[1] set out for India, and arrived at the time that Lopo Soarez had gone to the island of Ceilam to build a fortress, which the king Dom Manuel had commanded him to make[2]. And because of this island's being so notable a thing, and one regarding which many have written some things without trustworthy information, we shall enter upon the second book of this Third Decade by describing the position and the notable things of it.

Dec. III., Bk. ii., Chap. i.

In which is described the position and things of the island of Ceilam, which the ancients call Tapobrana[3].

The island which we generally call Ceilam[4], whose king Lopo Soarez had gone to place under the obedience of the king Dom Manuel, is situated in front of Cape Comorij, which is the southernmost land of the whole of India that lies between the two famous rivers Indus and Ganges. The which island is almost of an oval form, and its direction is along this coast of India towards the rumb that the seamen call north-east, the point of which, that which lies furthest south, is in the altitude of six degrees, and that of the north almost in ten[5], whereby the length of it will be seventy-eight leagues, and the extreme breadth forty-four[6]; and the point nearest to the mainland will be distant therefrom sixteen leagues a little more or less[7]. And this passage and strait between the two countries is so full of islets, shoals, and sandbanks, that it can only be navigated through certain channels; and if it is out of the season, with so much danger, that there is current among the people of that East another fable like that of Charybdis and

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[1] Antonio de Saldanha.

[2] See III. ii. ii. (p. 38).

[3] It will be noticed that Couto also (V. i. vii., p. 80 ff.) uses this erroneous form. In Portuguese writers of the 15th and 16th centuries we find frequent instances of similar metathesis: such as, *frol* for *flor*, *Madanela* for *Madalena*, *Crasto* for *Castro*, &c.

[4] *Cf.* what follows with Couto V. i. vii. (p. 88).

[5] Really 5½ and 9½.

[6] The actual length and breadth are 270 and 140 English miles, to about 4¼ of which the Portuguese league corresponded: so that Barros's figures are exaggerations.

[7] This, again, is too much. From Point Palmyra to Point Calimere is about 46 miles.

Scylla between Sicily and the land of Italy. And moreover, as the opinion is here[1] held that the two countries were continuous one with the other, so also in those parts they have a similar one regarding the island of Ceilam and the land of Cape Comorij; and from the proofs that they both exhibit their opinion appears more worthy of belief than ours[2]. For in weather when the sea is calm the men who sail there are able as they go along to see all that lies at the bottom of the water, the rocky bed forming a shoal, and the water being very clear: and they that have most experience of this are those that fish for seed-pearl. Of which fishery, it being one of the most important of those parts, we treat particularly in the books of our *Commerce* in the chapter on pearls and seed-pearl[3]. This opinion of the country, of the island's having been joined to the coast of the mainland, is confirmed by what is said by the peoples of it, principally those of Choromandel, when speaking of the time that the blessed apostle Saint Thomas converted that region to the faith of Christ[4]. ......

There is moreover current among the natives of the island of Ceilam a tradition that this name is not its proper one, but one given to it by chance; for its ancient name is Ilanáre, or Tranate, as others say[5], and among the learned it is so

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[1] That is, in Europe.

[2] On this subject, see Ten. i. 6–7, 13–4.

[3] In III. VI. iv. Barros, after speaking of the pearl fishery of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, adds:—"But this fishery is not as great as that of the island of Ceilam in India, and Aynam in China, which three islands are the principal sources of the whole of that East where that oyster breeds. Of which fisheries, and of those that there are in the Antilles of Castile, we treat in detail in our *Books of Commerce*, in the chapter on pearls and seed-pearl, as we have already pointed out in another place." Unhappily, the book referred to was never written, or has utterly disappeared.

[4] Barros proceeds to relate a story of St. Thomas at Meliapor, which, he says, was at that time twelve leagues from the sea, while in the time of the Portuguese it was only a stone's throw therefrom, showing how the sea had encroached in the space of some fifteen hundred years. (He repeats the details, in much the same words, in III. VII. xi.)

[5] Barbosa (166) says "the Indians call it Ylinarim." Couto (p. 65) spells the name "Illenáre," and Castanheda (II. xxii.) "Hibenaro" (where *b* is an error for *l*). All these varieties of spellings represent Tamil *Ílan-náḍu*, "the country of Ceylon" (Ílam = Sîlam = Síhalam). "Tranate" may stand for Tam. *tiru-náḍu*, "the sacred country," just as "Itterubenero," which, according to Ant. Galvão (104), was the name by which the Moors called Ceylon, seems to represent Tam. *tiru Ílan-náḍu*, "the sacred country of Ceylon" (*b* again being an error for *l*).

called, although common usage and time have now taken so firm a hold, that it is generally called Ceilam: and the event by which it got this name, according to what its learned men recount, who have some record of ancient things, was this. At the time that the Chijs[1] had conquered those parts by reason of the spicery[2], in the passage between this island and the mainland, through a tempest that they call *vara*[3], which is what causes the marvels of their Scylla and Charbydis, in one day they lost eighty sail[4], whence that place is called Chiláo, and by us the shoals of Chiláo, which, in reference to them, means "the perils, or loss, of the Chijs"[5]. And as in newly discovered countries the first thing noticed by the seamen that discover them is the perils of the sea where they may receive hurt, for the warning of after-comers, rather than the proper name of the country, when the Arabs and Parsees, who after the Chijs for the sake of commerce entered on the navigation of those parts, from Cape Comorij onwards, as a thing to which they ought to pay heed in their navigating, had these shoals of Chiláo much in their mouths, and through not knowing the proper name of the island, which was Ilanáre, they gave it this one of its shoals. And because this syllable *chij* has not much currency in the mouth of the Arabs and Parsees, and there is frequently on their tongue this other one *ci*, they having two letters in their alphabet which attempt to imitate it in pronunciation, the which are *cim* and *xim*, changing *chi* into *ci* they called the island Ceilam, or (to speak more conformably to them) Cilan, and we call it Ceilam[6]. This is the name according to the common people, but the learned Arabs and Parsees in their geographies call it by the ancient name Serandib, of which we have several volumes in their own

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[1] Chinese.

[2] On the intercourse between China and Ceylon, see Ten. i., pt. v., chap. iii.

[3] The Portuguese writers usually refer to this as the *vara de Choromandel,* and describe it as a tempestuous wind (*cf. infra,* p. 359). The word *vara* represents Tamil *vaḍa*, "north."

[4] There may be some foundation for this story, though the number of junks said to have been lost is probably an exaggeration. Barbosa (171) does not mention this tradition, but says that in 1502 twelve thousand Indians were drowned there.

[5] Evidently Barros derived *Chiláo* from Tam. *Chini-iḷavu*! I need scarcely say that his derivation is entirely wrong. There seems little doubt that Chilaw = Tam. *salápam,* "diving."

[6] This etymology is as erroneous as the other: Port. *Ceilam* is from the Arab. *Sailan, Silán,* which go back to Páli *Síhalaṁ* (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Ceylon").

language, where we saw it; and the cause why they gave it this name we have written in our *Geography*.

And it appears that in that most ancient time, of which its geographers wrote, it was of the size that its natives make it, saying that it had a circumference of more than seven hundred leagues, and that the sea went on eating it away, and hence would result (if we wish to justify Ptolemy) the giving to it such a length, that it extends beyond the equinoctial line two and a half degrees towards the south[1]. And this being so, it may be true, as Pliny relates, that in the time of Claudius there came four ambassadors to Rome from the king of this island, Tapobrana, and that they were amazed to see the shadows that the sun made falling in the direction of this our habitation and not towards theirs, which was over against the south, they dwelling beyond the equinoctial line[2]. And it appears moreover that in the time of Ptolemy there was already some knowledge of this name Ceilam; because in speaking of it he says that anciently they called it Salyca, and the natives Sali. The name Simondi would be at the time when the Chijs ruled it, and that because of them, with reference to those that sailed to it from these parts of the Red Sea, they would give it that name, because the same Chijs Ptolemy, speaking of their proper region, calls Sinde. And afterwards, for the cause which as we have said proceeded from them, having lost possession of that island, it was called Seilam, which corresponds to the corrupt name of Sályca, or Sáli, by which he calls it[3].

And the peoples of the kingdom of Siam[4], speaking of it, call it Lamcá, and hold by the tradition of their writings that it was formerly joined to the opposite mainland of Cape Comorij, and this at the time that Adam came to inhabit it, for so they call by his proper name the first man, and by another name they call him Po Con, which means "first father"[5], of which

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[1] On this see Ten. i. 6–10, 558–9 *n.*

[2] See Ten. i. 558. But it is very doubtful if these "ambassadors" came from Ceylon at all.

[3] All this is mere unscientific conjecture on the part of Barros. On the statements of Ptolemy see the work referred to *infra*, p. 81, note [6].

[4] The reason for bringing Siam in here seems to be that Barros was about to describe that country and its people (he does so in III. II. v.). He does not seem to have known, when he wrote, that the name Laṅká came from India. (On this name see p. 65 *infra.*)

[5] According to E. B. Michell's Siamese-Eng. Dict., *paw* = father, and *poo* = male; while *korn* = first, and *khon* = man, person. (*Cf.* also *C. Lit. Reg.* iv. 118.)

man we shall see presently what the same people of the island think. That the Chijs were masters of the Choromandel coast. part of Malabar, and of this island Ceilam, and of those called Maldiva, besides that the natives thereof affirm it, as testimony of it there are buildings, names, and language that they left in it[1], as did the Romans with regard to us Spaniards[2], whereby we cannot deny that we were formerly conquered by them. In which island they left (according to what the natives say) a language, which they call Chingálla, and the people themselves Chingállas, principally those that live from the point of Gálle onward on the tract of country facing the south and east. For near to this point they founded a city by name Tanabare, of which a great part is standing today[3]; and from being close to this Cape Gálle, the other people, who lived up above in the middle of the island, called those who dwelt here Chingálla, and their language likewise, as much as to say, "language" or "people of the Chijs of Gálle"[4]. The which Chijs gave up voyaging to India because of its consuming so much of their men, ships, and capital[5]; and the peoples that remained of them, on account of being a mixed race of many and divers regions, abhorred by the dwellers on the sea-coast of the other part of the island opposite to the land of Cape Comorij, left the sea-ports, and betook themselves to the mountain ranges, where they have always dwelt[6]. And of this race are the mountaineers, with whom at present they are at war[7], and others went to the district of Choromandel, which is on the mainland, where there were many colonies and settlements

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[1] That the Chinese ever dominated any territory in India or Ceylon is improbable; and the arguments Barros adduces are, to say the least, dubious.

[2] Barros rightly says "us Spaniards," since in the time of the Romans the Portuguese did not exist as a separate people (see Morse Stephens's *Portugal*, chap. i.).

[3] When Barros wrote (about 1560) the famous temple of Dondra was still standing. For an account of its destruction by the Portuguese see *infra*, p. 375. Of course the statement regarding the foundation of the city is erroneous (*cf.* Couto, *loc. cit.*).

[4] This derivation is on a par with the others given by Barros in this chapter.

[5] The real cause of the Chinese withdrawal from Indian and Persian waters was Arab competition.

[6] This idea of a Chinese origin of the inland Sinhalese persisted down to Dutch times (see Bald., chap. i. and the illustrations).

[7] Barros doubtless refers to the fact that when he wrote the Portuguese and their ally Dom João Perea Pandar were at war with Máyádunné (see Decs. VI. and VII.).

of the same Chijs, whence the people of this country likewise have the Chingálla language, of which we have spoken[1].

The other names that the geographers give to this island, and other details relating to it, we leave for the commentaries on the tables of our *Geography*, it being matter appropriate to that place, where will be seen the delusion under which some modern writers labour in saying that the Golden Chersonese, which we call Samátra, is Tapobrana, and the rest that the ancients fabulated regarding these two islands[2]. What now concerns us is to know that it has very excellent and pure air, and is for the most part fertile, luxuriant, principally from eight degrees downward along the sea-coast as far as the cape of Gálle, and the mountain region. And in this distance, which will be a tract of twenty leagues in length and ten in breadth, is the bulk of the population, and most of the sea-ports, and where Nature produces all the cinnamon that is used in those and these parts. True it is that in many parts of the East is found some, but it is uncultivated and wild, as will be seen in the books of *Commerce* in the chapter on it, and also of the rubies, catseyes, sapphires, and other kinds of precious stones that it contains; however none approaches in fineness in its own kind to the three that we have named: here these three sorts, the finest of them, are the most perfect of all those parts. Of metals it has only iron, which is obtained in two parts, which are called Cande and Tanavaca[3]; and if there had been in it as much gold as the ancients say[4], the natives are such lovers of it, and so diligent in demanding of the earth the metal and precious stones that it holds within itself, that they would

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[1] In I. IX. iii., which is devoted to a description of Malabar and its peoples, Barros says :—" .... the native heathenry and proper indigena of the country is that people whom we call Malabares : there is there another, which came thither from the coast of Choromandel by reason of the trade, whom they call Chingálas, who have their own language, whom our people commonly call Chatijs." It is evident, I think, that here Barros has confused *Chingála* and *Chelim* (see *Hob.-Job. s.vv.* "Cheling," "Kling"). Barbosa (167) says of the inhabitants of Ceylon : —"Their language is partly Malabar and partly of Cholmendal ;" while Castanheda (II. xxii.) says :—" The language of the heathens is Canarâ and Malabar."

[2] Barros's *Geography* having been lost, Couto deals with this subject in V. I. vii.

[3] "Dinavaca" in later Portuguese writers. The name has disappeared from modern maps, the division of Denavaka no longer existing. It lay east of Ratnapura (*cf.* map in Rib.). It is called Donivagga in the *Maháv.* (lxxv. 70, 73).

[4] That is, taking Taprobane to have been Ceylon.

long ago have come upon it. Of spicery, besides cinnamon, of which it is the mother (as we have said), it has pepper, cardamom, brazil[1], and several dyes that the natives use for dyeing their cloths: of these, some are roots, others wood, and others leaves and flowers. It has large palm groves, which is the best inheritance of those parts; because, beside its fruits being the common food, these palms are profitable for divers uses, of which food, called *coco*, there is here great loading for many parts. Its elephants, of which a good number are bred, are those with the best instinct in the whole of India, and because they are notably the most tamable and handsomest they are worth much[2]; and there is much breeding of cattle and buffaloes, from which is made a large quantity of butter, which is carried as cargo to many parts[3]. It has much rice, principally in a district that lies on the side of the island that faces the east, called Calou, that is, "kingdom," by reason of which rice, which they call *bate*, the kingdom is called Batecalou, which they interpret as "the kingdom of rice"[4]. In fine, in native fruits and seeds, as well as in foreign ones that are planted and sown there, it is so fertile, that it seems as if Nature had made of it a watered orchard[5], because there is not a month of the year that it does not rain there[6], and the sea-coast is largely marshy, and cut up by rivers, some of them of fresh water, which descend from the midst of the mountain ranges of the interior, and others in the manner of salt marshes formed by the sea. The which mountain ranges are almost of the oval fashion of the island itself, arranged in such manner that they appear like a pen [*curral*] of loose stones, because in the middle they leave the land flat without those peaks and ruggedness that this circuit of mountains has. Not that they are so bare that they have no trees on them, because among those rocks and peaks the whole is filled up with trees of many kinds; and by three or four parts, after the manner of the passes in the Alps of Italy, one enters within this circuit, which is a kingdom called Cande. And if its kings did not constitute themselves the heirs of their vassals, taking from them all the property that they possess at the hour of death, of which, if they choose, they give some things to the children,

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[1] Meaning sapanwood (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Brazilwood").

[2] *Cf.* Couto V. I. vii. (pp. 85–6).

[3] *Cf.* III. III. vii. (p. 47). The "butter" was really ghee.

[4] This is one of the most amusing of Barros's etymological atrocities. Of course, Siṇh. *bat* is *boiled* rice; and neither in Siṇh. nor in Tam. is there a word like *calou* meaning "kingdom."

[5] *Cf.* Couto V. VI. ii. (p. 117).

[6] *Cf.* Couto X. X. xi. (p. 359).

it would be much more fruitful and well supplied ; but through fear of this they do not care to cultivate anything.

Almost at the edge of this mountain range, a matter of twenty leagues from the sea-coast, is a mountain[1] so high and steep that it rises to the height of seven leagues[2]; and on the summit of it is a flat surface of such small extent in circumference, that it will be little more than thirty paces in diameter. In the middle of which is a stone of two cubits higher than the other flat surface in the manner of a table, and in the middle of it is figured a man's footprint, which will have a length of two spans, the which footprint is held in great reverence, on account of the opinion that prevails among the natives; for they assert it to be that of a holy man, a native of the kingdom of Delij, which is below the sources of the rivers Indus and Ganges, who came to this island, where he stayed for the space of many years, bringing men to the usage of believing and adoring one only God, the creator of heaven and earth, whom they call Deunú[3], and afterwards returned to the kingdom of Delij, where he had a wife and children. And many years of his life having passed, in the hour of death he extracted a tooth, and commanded that it should be brought to this island, and given to the king of the country, to be kept in memory of him, beside the footprint on the peak, the which tooth at the present day the kings hold as a sacred relic, to which they commit all their needs[4]. And from this heathen opinion our people came to call this mountain the Peak of Adam, whom they[5] call by the proper name of Budo. In which mountain rise three or four rivers, which are the principal ones that water the greater part of the island ; and in some places this mountain range is so steep, that for the space of thirty fathoms it is ascended by means of iron chains, to which men cling, in order to make their pilgrimage to this footprint. The which thing is so celebrated among all the heathenry of that East, that from more than a thousand leagues away there assemble there pilgrims, chiefly those that they call *jógues*[6], who are like men that have left the world

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[1] *Cf.* what follows with Couto V. vi. ii. (p. 108 ff.).

[2] An absurd figure ; perhaps Barros has confused the height with the latitude, which is about 7·15. (But *cf.* Couto's statement on p. 109.)

[3] Siṉh. *deviyanné.*

[4] *Cf.* Couto VII. ix. ii. (p. 191). The manner in which Barros refers to the tooth would seem to prove that when he wrote he had not learnt of the capture of the relic in Jaffna and its destruction in Goa in 1560 and 1561, as described by Couto in VII. ix. ii. and VII. ix. xvii. (pp. 191, 213).

[5] The natives of Ceylon.

[6] See *Hob.-Job. s.v.* " Jogee."

and dedicated themselves entirely to God, and make great pilgrimages to visit the temples dedicated to him. Many things do the natives of this island relate of his sanctity and that of his priests and *brámanes*, which we defer until we treat thereof in our *Geography*, and also of the customs of the people and state of their kings, and the ceremonies that they observe and regard amongst themselves.

At present what is to the purpose of our history is to know that it is divided into nine states, and each of these is called a kingdom. The first and most notable is ruler of about that tract of land in which we have said that all the cinnamon grows, which lies in the western part of the island, and has most of the sea-ports, and the best, that there are in it, the chief city of which is called Columbo. Near to which is a fortified place, called Cóta (as we here say "fortress"[1]), in which the king dwells retired[2], in order to keep himself apart from the concourse of merchants who assemble at that port of Columbo, and this was the one that Lopo Soárez had gone to visit. Another kingdom lies to the south of this at the point of this island, which they call Gálle, and on the eastern side it confines with the kingdom of Iáula[3], and in the north with another called Tanavaca; and that which is in the midst of the interior of this land entirely surrounded by mountain ranges, which it has in place of a wall, is the kingdom of Cande. And along the sea-coast of this island are these kingdoms: Batecalou, which is the easternmost in it; and between it and that of Cande, which lies to the west of it, is another called Vilacem[4]; and going along the coast of the island toward the north above Batecalou is the kingdom of Triquinámale, which by the coast upward comes to adjoin another called Jafanápatam, which is at the point of the island towards the north, the which kingdoms adjoin one another in the interior. And so great are they amongst themselves, by so much the greater power that the heathens and infidels have who possess them; for they have no other demarcations than the power of each, wherefore we cannot define them with accuracy, since the covetousness of men has no certain limits, even though they may have laws divine and human as to how far what they may have extends.

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[1] For once, Barros is right.

[2] A few years after this was written Cota was abandoned by the puppet-king Dharmapála at the instance of the Portuguese (see *infra*, p. 241).

[3] Yála.

[4] Wellassa.

DEC. III., BK. II., CHAP. ii.

How Lopo Soárez, by command of the king Dom Manuel, went to the island of Ceilam to build a fortress : and that which passed before it was built with the king of the country, who became tributary to this kingdom.

The king Dom Manuel, because he had much information regarding the fertility of this island, and knew that from it came all the cinnamon in those parts, and that the lord of Gálle by the manner in which he comported himself towards Dom Lourenço (as we have related above) wished to pay him tribute in order to retain his friendship, and that afterwards through the medium of Afonso Dalboquerque the king of Columbo, who was the real lord of the cinnamon, wished to have that peace and friendship, wrote to the same Afonso Dalboquerque, that he was to go in person to this island, if it semed well to him, to build in this port of Columbo a fortress, in order thereby to make sure of the offers of the king. However, as Afonso Dalboquerque whilst he lived considered other matters more important to the state of India, and that it was proper that they should be made sure of before this island of Ceilam, and also because the king was very prompt in sending all the cinnamon that was needed by us, dissembled with the reminders that the king sent him every year on this subject, giving him these and other reasons why he neglected to do it[1]. When Lopo Soárez was coming to India he likewise carried this reminder ; and nevertheless he first went to the strait of the Red Sea, which by the reasonings of Afonso Dalboquerque was more important ; and seeing how little he had done in this journey, on account of matters having succeeded so badly[2], and that in that year of 1518 there might come out another captain-major and governor, wished before he went to leave this work completed by his hands. And although he had this year sent many men and ships to divers parts, such as Antonio de Saldanha to the strait, Dom Aleixo to Maláca, and Dom Joam da Silveira to the islands of Maldiva[3], all of whom he lacked for carrying out this work, and it was an honest excuse for not attempting it, nevertheless he determined upon it ; because, according to the information that he had regarding the navigation of the island by reason of the shoals that it has, galleys and other rowing vessels were sufficient, and some ships of high build to carry implements for the work of the fortress.

[1] Regarding these statements see my "Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese."

[2] See Whiteway 184–6.

[3] See III. I. x., III. II. iii. (pp. 28, 46).

And as to the number of fighting men, he considered it certain, judging by what had passed as to the willingness that the king had shown[1], that he would have no impediment to the building of the fortress. So that, with this assurance, in September of that year 1518 he set out from Cochij, taking a fleet of seventeen sail, of which seven were galleys, the captains being Manuel de Lacerda, Lopo de Brito, António de Miranda da Zevedo, Joam de Mello, Gaspar da Silva, Christovam de Sousa, and Dinis Fernandez de Mello, in whose vessel Lopo Soárez went[2]. And there were also eight foists, which Dom Fernando de Monroy[3] had brought from Goa, which Lopo Soárez had that winter ordered him to get ready for this voyage; and he also took two ships with munitions: in which fleet went as many as seven hundred Portuguese men of arms[4].

Lopo Soárez went pursuing his voyage, and when he had almost reached the port of Columbo, at which he was going to put in, the winds set so full astern, that the seas that ran with them along the coast took him out of his course, and carried him to the end of the island into the port of Gálle, which will be twenty leagues from Columbo, where he was detained more than a month[5], until the weather gave him the opportunity of going to Columbo, where he arrived with all his fleet. This port of Columbo has almost the shape of a hook, for it has a spacious entrance, the middle of which is cut by a river[6] and the point that forms the barb of the hook is so sharp, and is so separated from the main body of the rest of the land, that a stone could be thrown across its breadth, and being cut off by a

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[1] I can find no authority for this statement (*cf.* below at note [6], page 40).

[2] *Cf.* this list with those given by Castanheda (*C. Lit. Reg.* iv. 197) and Correa (*ib.* iv. 180), the last writer, however, being untrustworthy, one captain he names, Fernão Peres de Andrade, being then in China (see my *Let. from Port. Capt.* 13). The mention by Castanheda and Barros of Lopo de Brito is puzzling, since both state that Lopo de Brito left Portugal for India in 1519 to take up the captaincy of Columbo. Perhaps this was a namesake.

[3] A brother of the captain of Goa.

[4] Castanheda says eight or nine hundred, all Portuguese; while Correa says that the whites exceeded a thousand, and that there were two hundred Malabar mercenaries with their captain.

[5] Castanheda says 1½ month; Correa does not specify the period. Both these writers record encounters between the Sinhalese and the Portuguese, owing to the slaughter of cattle and robberies by the latter.

[6] The outlet of the Columbo lake (the present Lotus Pond) is probably meant. Correa shows this "river" in his drawing of Columbo.

ditch[1] forms as it were an island, having no other entrance but by the ditch. When Lopo Soárez saw the shape of the port, and how suitable the narrow end of that point was for building the fortress[2], he at once agreed with the captains that it should be on that spot[3]. However, before he went on shore he sent a message to the king by Joam Flores[4], notifying him of the cause of his coming to that port, giving several reasons why his lord the king desired to have a fortress there, ascribing the whole of this step to the faithlessness of the Moors who resorted thither, and to the ancient hatred that they bore towards the Portuguese, but chiefly to the great gain that it would bring to the king to have that fortress made there : both by reason of his lord the king Dom Manuel's becoming thereby committed to the defence of him (the king) against his enemies, as well as because by having commerce with the Portuguese his whole kingdom would become very wealthy and fully supplied with the productions of the West[5]. The king, as he had some time ago been occupied in treating of this matter with Afonso Dalboquerque[6], and was very desirous of this commerce, seeing how rich the king of Cochij had become by it, and that since we had entered India he (the king) himself had begun to experience in his revenue the profit that was to be paid, as soon as he saw the message of Lopo Soárez conceded him the fortress, sending to interview him with words that showed his satisfaction.

As the Moors of Calecut and of all that coast of Malabar since our entry into India had been scared away by us from all those parts, and had some refuge in this island of Ceilam, because of our armadas' not going to it, some who were there on the arrival of Lopo Soárez, although they were terrified at seeing him in the port, when they learnt that the king had conceded him a fortress became altogether as dead men. Finally by force of bribes, which everywhere are able to effect more than solid reasons, they so changed the mind of the

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[1] The ditch was cut by the Portuguese (see below).

[2] D. Lourenço de Almeida had noticed this twelve years before (see D. Francisco de Almeida's letter of 27 December 1506, in my "Discovery of Ceylon," p. 338).

[3] Lopo Soares, in his haste to get the fortress erected before the arrival of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira should prevent him, had to decide without waiting for the advice of D. João da Silveira, whom he had sent in advance to spy out the land (see III. II. iii., p. 46).

[4] Correa describes him as "a trustworthy man." Later on we shall read of his death at the hands of the Moors when occupying the post of captain of the guard of the Kilakarai pearl fishery (see p. 58).

[5] *Cf.* the reasons given by Castanheda and Correa.

[6] This may be true, but I cannot confirm it. *Cf.* extract C 15 at p. 373 of my "Discovery of Ceylon."

king's advisers, and his own through the counsel of these, representing to him dangers to his life and loss of his state if he thus granted us a place for a fortress[1], that when one morning Lopo Soárez intended to go on land to cut the ditch in that point which he had chosen for the fortress, he found that by the industry of the Moors there were there some mud-walls[2] after the manner of intrenchments with defences of wood, in which they had placed certain iron bombards with bowmen posted for defending the land. And this was not all, but there were also some of our men taken prisoners, who as in a safe place had gone ashore, of those who went with these messages between Lopo Soárez and the king, as if in the way of hostages so as afterwards to make use of them if the affair did not succeed well. Lopo Soárez, when he learnt of the welcome with which they intended to receive him on land, having taken counsel with the captains, altered the manner of landing, being convinced that by the power of the sword he would have to remove that impediment which prevented his building the fortress, the which he understood had been planned by the Moors, chiefly after he had sent to view from near at hand the positions and what people they were who were in defence of them. The which determination caused among all the men of arms as great a transport of delight as they had previously been sorrowful, on seeing that the king of goodwill granted a place for building a fortress, and that in that transaction they had to exercise more the strength of their arms, like mechanics, with stone and lime on their backs, without any reward in treasure and honour, than with sword in hand like knights, with which they obtained these two things. Lopo Soárez, although he saw this eagerness among the men, after they had been notified of what he had agreed to with the captains, did not choose to land that day, deferring it for the following fore-dawn, so as to go better prepared : and this he did, getting ashore without hindrance from the enemy. Because, as their strength lay more in the bombards and *tranqueira*[3] than in courage, they did not dare

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[1] Castanheda invents a long speech, and puts it into the mouth of the leading Moor. According to Correa the opposition did not begin until after the building of the fortress had made some progress, and was in part due to the king's brother, who ruled in another part of the island.

[2] The original has *cavallos*, which gives no sense. Barros here seems to have copied from Castanheda, who has *vallados*, for which *cavallos* appears to be an error.

[3] This is a word that we shall come across frequently in the course of this history. I have left it untranslated in all cases, because in some the sense is doubtful. The general meaning seems to be a stockade ; but it is used vaguely to mean an enclosed defence of limited size.

to come away from them, and remained in that place like men who wished to act on the defensive rather than the offensive. As soon as Lopo Soárez gave the "Santiago!"[1] our men, taking no account of the smoke of their bombards, nor looking to see where they were aimed, competed with one another as to who should first climb over the top of the positions, as if on the summit of them was the special prize of victory of each. However, this courage cost some of them blood and life; for not only were several wounded by arrows and firelock shots, but some were also killed by the bombards, the chief of whom was Verissimo Pacheco, who (as we have said) had come from Maláca with the news of the imprisonment of his brother Antonio Pacheco[2]. This conflict having gone on amidst the obscurity of the smoke of the artillery for a short space of time, during which our men tarried in their ascent of the position, as soon as a handful of them had made themselves masters of it, they cut up the enemy in such fashion that they put them all to flight, not failing to follow on their heels, driving them at the sword's point[3]. Lopo Soárez, seeing that some captains had got a little opposite to where there were trees, from which they might receive some harm, chiefly Christovam de Sousa, who had crossed over a stream a long way from the position, commanded to sound the trumpet for them to return[4], since he was now master of his enemies' fortress, and to carry off those pieces of artillery that he found there: and without making further stay, in order to give the men a rest, he once more embarked.

On the following day, everything being already in readiness for his purpose, he went ashore: and the first thing that he set about was to fortify himself, making himself master of the point which he desired for founding the fortress, the which

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[1] The Spanish (and Portuguese) war-cry, the apostle James being the patron saint of Spain.

[2] Barros relates this in III. i. ix. On the death of Jorge de Brito, captain of Malacca, the succession to the post was disputed by the *alcaide mór* Nuno Vaz Pereira (*cf.* p. 25) and the captain-major of the sea Antonio Pacheco, which culminated in the former's imprisoning the latter.

[3] Correa in his account of the engagement states that D. Fernando de Monroyo with his twelve foists and the galliot and brigantine bombarded the Moors from the sea. As Castanheda and Barros say nothing of this I take it that Correa has confused this engagement with that of two years later (see pp. 52, 53), which he does not record.

[4] According to Castanheda, Christovão de Sousa returned of his own accord, and, on making a somewhat vainglorious remark to the governor, received in reply a characteristic snub.

fortification was no more than a ditch and a defence of wood, in which he placed much artillery, in the part that lay over against the land, by which the enemy might attack him. And one of the things that perplexed him most after he saw himself master of that spot was, not to find there stone or shells for making lime: because before he left Cochij, in obtaining information from some of our men who had already been there, they led him to believe that there was stone from which it would be possible to make lime, and if this did not serve there was plenty of shell-fish, from the shells of which a large quantity could be made. And seeing that there was not one of these things for making lime[1], only shells which it was necessary to bring from a distance, which might detain him a longer time than he had to spare, it being already in October, and it was necessary for him to be in India, by reason of the loading of the ships that were expected from the kingdom, by which, he thought, might come the governor who was to succeed him, he agreed, with the approval of all the captains, that as lime could not be made quickly they should build the fortress of stone and clay. Because as the land was separated from the point from sea to sea, that sufficed for the time being as a secure retreat for those who were to remain, until it should be provided from India according as there was need. All having concurred in this opinion, Lopo Soárez ordered in great haste the foundations to be dug, and stone to be brought for commencing the wall, dividing the responsibility of each task among the captains.

The king of Ceilam, when he saw many of his people killed and wounded in that incursion of ours on land, and that with little trouble they made themselves masters of the fortification that the Moors had made, and besides this had begun the work of the fortress contrary to his wish, having taken counsel with his fellow-countrymen, without giving heed to the Moors, desired the peace that he had agreed to with Lopo Soárez rather than the breaking of it which they had advised. Regarding which subject he sent to him his governor, giving various excuses for what had occurred, attributing all to the bad counsels of men who had got him to believe things contrary to what he (Lopo Soárez) had promised of the peace and amity that by means of the fortress he might have with the king of Portugal. And since he by the death and injury of his people had been paid for accepting counsel from evil men, who had caused that rupture, he begged him that they might return once more to the state of peace which at his coming he had at once

[1] When the fortress was rebuilt two years later, oyster-shells for making lime were brought from Kílakarai (see *infra*, p. 49).

accepted, consenting to the building of the fortress where he wished. Lopo Soárez, although in his reply he showed that he was offended with the king for the little truth in which he had acted towards him and the treachery which he (the king) had committed, both as regards the men whom he had ordered to be seized, as well as in what he had done over the agreement of peace, concluded his reply thus: That he was content to return to the peace in which they were before; nevertheless, for the insult that he had offered to the royal banner of the king of Portugal his master in permitting the Moors and the natives to come against him with an armed force, in which affair several Portuguese were killed and wounded, he (the king) would have to compensate this injury by submitting to the title of vassal of the king Dom Manuel his master, whose insignia were those on the banner of his king, which represented his person: who when he was insulted, or anyone despised his peace, his vassals would sacrifice their lives until they had put his enemy under its yoke. The king's governor, having left with this message, returned and went many times, until at last he agreed with Lopo Soárez that the king was willing to become a vassal of the king Dom Manuel's with a yearly tribute of three hundred *baháres* of cinnamon, which in our weight are one thousand two hundred *quintals*, and besides twelve rings of rubies and sapphires of those that were dug from the gem-pits of Ceilam, and six elephants for the service of the factory at Cochij[1], all to be paid to the captain of the fortress who should be there, or to whomever the governor of India should send. And that the king Dom Manuel should be obliged to protect and defend him (the king) from his enemies as his vassal; with other conditions besides which are set forth in the agreement of that treaty, of which Lopo Soárez had one copy and the king the other, written on leaves of beaten gold (according to their usage), and ours on parchment[2]. This agreement having been made, the king sent to excuse himself to Lopo Soárez for not coming to see him, on account of being indisposed, and for matters of his religion of Bramme[3] to which he belonged; because, as regards the

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[1] *Cf.* p. 73. Castanheda gives the promised tribute as ten elephants, four hundred *bahares* of cinnamon, and twenty rings. Correa would have us believe that any additions to the ordinary tribute were paid for by the governor.

[2] Barros does not profess to have seen this treaty, no copy of which now exists.

[3] The 1777 edition has "Brammane." Of course Barros is in error: the king (Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX.) was a Buddhist.

heathens of those parts, these two things go together, priesthood and government of men. And as the kings have a great regard for their priests, and much more for the chiefs of them, who have that jurisdiction that as regards the clergy the bishops have amongst us, the kings themselves are *brammanes* and are superior to all in their kingdom. So powerful is the ambition to rule, that the princes of the earth are not content to hold in subjection their vassals by means of the administration of the secular government which God has given to them, by which they have made themselves masters of their bodies and external actors of the works that each one does, in order to execute upon him the laws of justice, according to those that were given for that purpose; but they have also wished to be masters of the souls and internal authorities of the mind, which belong to God alone, or to those who (according to our gospel) are heirs of this mystery. Having made this agreement, Lopo Soárez, both with the help that the king commanded to be given for that purpose, of the people of the country, as also with the people of the armada, in a few days finished the fortress, almost at the end of November, to which he gave the name of Nossa Senhora das Virtudes[1]. And at this time there arrived at it Dom Joam da Silveira, who (as we have said above) was sent with certain ships to the islands of Maldiva[2]; on whom, because of his being a person who had the necessary qualifications and being also his nephew, Lopo Soárez bestowed the captaincy of it, leaving with him the troops needful for its defence, and also officials for transacting the affairs of commerce. And because the Moors were accustomed to go to that island, having been scared away by our armadas that went about Malabar (as we have said), Lopo Soárez wished to deprive them of that place of refuge, leaving as captain-major of the sea, with four sail for the guarding of that port of Columbo, Antonio de Miranda Dazevedo[3].

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[1] Barros and Correa both give this as the name of the fortress. If it was actually so called by Lopo Soares, the name must have been soon changed; for Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo, writing to the king on 8 November 1519, from the fortress, calls it Santa Barbara (see *Alg. Doc.* 436). The festival of St. Barbara falls on 4 December.

[2] The reference is to III. I. x. (p. 29). In the chapter following this one Barros describes Dom João's expedition (see p. 46).

[3] Correa does not mention this man. Castanheda says that he was "a man who had been long in India and who was very experienced in war," and that it was for this reason Lopo Soares left him as captain-major of the sea at Columbo, his nephew, D. João da Silveira, being only a youth.

Having made provision for these matters, Lopo Soárez departed for Cochij, and in going out of the port, by a disaster the galley of Joam de Mello was lost, but the people were saved[1]. . . . . . .

Dec. III., Bk. ii., Chap. iii.

Of what happened to Dom Joam da Silveira in the islands of Maldiva, whither Lopo Soárez sent him[2], and also in Bengálla where he went, until he arrived at Ceilam to be placed in possession of the captaincy of the fortress of Columbo.

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. . . . . . And that on the way he was to pass by the island of Ceilam[3], and from the port of Columbo, whither our people were accustomed to go to seek cinnamon, he was to take pilots to carry him to Bengálla; and also that he was secretly to inspect and take soundings in this port of Columbo, and the lie of the land, in order with his advice to come to a determination on what had to be done by command of the king, which was a fortress in that place[4], the captaincy of which was to be his (Dom Joam's). Who, having set out with the four ships with which he went to the islands of Maldiva, reached Columbo[5], and having taken note of the place and obtained pilots, took his way for Bengálla: . . . . . . the discovery of which deceit[6] caused him to determine to make his voyage to Ceilam, where he knew that Lopo Soárez was sure to be at that time building the fortress, of the captaincy of which he had given him his promise, and on his arrival he put him in possession (as we have said) . . . . . .

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[1] Correa's version is that the galley ran on a sand-bank outside the port (of which sand-bank we shall read again in Couto), but lost only her keel and a quantity of cinnamon that was thrown overboard in the confusion.

[2] In April 1518. The events recorded in this chapter preceded those described in the foregoing one.

[3] This is from the orders given by Lopo Soares to D. João da Silveira when he was about to leave Cochin for Bengal.

[4] As I have said above, Lopo Soares had, after all, to decide without waiting for Dom João's opinion.

[5] Probably in August 1518.

[6] An attempt by the ambassador of the king of Arakan to entrap the Portuguese ships in the river.

Decade III., Bk. iii., Chap. i.

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...... Diogo Lopez having left Moçambique arrived on the 8th of September at Goa, where he stayed only a few days, because of having news that Lopo Soárez was on the way to go to Ceilam, thinking that he might catch him before he left for there ...... because his intention was (as we have said) to catch Lopo Soárez before he left Cochij to go to Ceilam, and stop him from that expedition, the fortress that he was going to build not being a thing of such importance at that time as other things which had been more strongly commended to him by the king in the instructions that he carried, for which he needed the men and ships that Lopo Soárez had taken for that work. But the weather was such, that it detained him nine days at Baticala[1], whence he sent a message to Lopo Soárez simply to stay him; and this message of his reached Cochij one afternoon, on the day in the morning of which Lopo Soárez had left. And although by the order of Diogo Lopez this message went no further, on the way Lopo Soárez had advice of the arrival of Diogo Lopez, over which he dissembled, and went forward with his purpose, which he carried out (as we have said) ......

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Dec. III., Bk. iii., Chap. vii.

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...... They[2] breed cattle, sheep and ewes; but not as much as to enable them to do without the butters that come to them from Ceilam[3] and other parts, in which much profit is made ......

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Dec. III., Bk. iv., Chap. vi.

Of what Lopo de Brito, captain of the fortress of Ceilam, underwent with the people of the country.

At this same time the captain of the fortress of Ceilam was Lopo de Brito, son of Joam de Brito[4], whom the king Dom

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[1] Bhatkal on the coast of Kanara (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* " Batcul ").

[2] The inhabitants of the Maldives, of which island Barros gives a description in this chapter. [3] *Cf.* III. ii. i. (p. 35, note [3]).

[4] Barros mentions the father in order to distinguish this man from another Lopo de Brito, who, like his brother Jorge de Brito, was one of Albuquerque's captains. I do not know if this man had been in India before.

Manuel in the past year of 1518 had ordered to go and build this fortress with as many as eight hundred men, among whom were many artizans skilled in this work; which task having been accomplished, he was to remain with the troops necessary for its defence, and revenue officials, and the rest were to go to other fortresses. And it happened that after the king had come to this determination there arrived Lopo de Villalobos, whom Lopo Soárez dispatched to this kingdom when he left the strait (as we have described above[1]), by whom he wrote to the king that as soon as he reached India he intended to go and build this fortress of Ceilam. Nevertheless in the year 1519 the king dispatched him to go and serve in the captaincy there[2], and his brother Antonio de Brito who was out there[3] was to be *alcaide mór*[4]; and as factor André Rodriguez de Beja, and as clerks Joam Rabello and Gaspar Daraujo[5] nicknamed Benimagre, both of them his grooms of the bed-chamber. On Lopo de Brito's arrival in India this fortress was handed over to him by Dom Joam da Silveira[6], who was stationed in it as captain. And as he (Lopo de Brito) brought four hundred men, among whom were many stone-masons and carpenters, and it was in such a condition that it seemed about to fall to the ground, being made of stone and clay, Lopo de

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[1] The reference is to III. I. vi. It was on 10 September 1517 that Lopo Soares dispatched Lopo de Villalobos from Kalhát for Portugal with letters to King Manuel relating the result of his expedition to the mouth of the Red Sea. When he reached Lisbon, I do not know.

[2] In III. III. ix. Barros names him as one of the captains in the fleet of 1519 under Jorge de Albuquerque, but does not mention his appointment. Castanheda (V. xv.) and Correa (ii. 574) both do so, however.

[3] When he came to India, and what position he occupied, I cannot find.

[4] Chief magistrate.

[5] Of these three men I can find no previous mention. João Rabello, however, is spoken of by Barros in III. IX. viii. as factor of Calicut in 1525.

[6] I cannot find when Lopo de Brito arrived in India, but it was doubtless before the end of 1519. Correa alone (ii. 623) gives the date of his leaving Goa for Ceylon, viz., March 1520, which may be right, but he cannot be trusted. Castanheda (V. xxi.) says that his brother Antonio de Brito accompanied him as captain-major of the sea; while Correa (ii. 624) states that the governor dispatched Antonio de Brito, "chief huntsman," and Rafael Perestrello to accompany Lopo de Brito as far as Ceylon, and then to go with Jorge de Brito to Pacem and load pepper for Bengal.

Brito arranged to build it of stone and lime[1]. And because near there he could find no stone, nor shell-fish for lime, he sent some *champanas*[2] to the seed-pearl fishery of Callecare[3], which is very close to there, to load with the shells from which the seed-pearl is taken, from which he made as large a quantity of lime as he needed, with which he built not only the fortress but also some houses[4]; and in addition to this work he very strongly protected the ditch that cut the land from sea to sea, whereby the fortress stood on an island in the manner that we have already described.

The people of the country, when they saw this reformation of the fortress, like folk affrighted at what the Moors had told them about us, began to be more afraid of that fortification, thinking that all was in order to take the country from them[5]. Finally to this suspicion were added other causes, which affected their liberty, since our people would not consent that the Moors should come there and trade with them, by which they suffered much loss, both one and the other. From which prohibition resulted that they did not supply our people with the produce of the country, which they had been coming to sell to them; and beside this, if they found anyone contrary to orders outside of our fortress, he was wounded, or killed if they could accomplish it[6]. Lopo de Brito, in order to preserve the peace that had been agreed to by Lopo Soárez, overlooked some of these affairs, treating them as such trivial matters that there began to be a murmuring among our people, who called this forbearance not prudence but cowardice: whence it came about that he thought better to carry out the wish of the men

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[1] In writing to the king on 27 October 1519, D. João da Silveira said that a piece of the fortress *had* fallen down, and that he had dug a ditch round it to save the rest. Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo, in his letter of 8 November 1519, speaks of repairs being carried out with stone and *lime*, the latter being made from shells brought by him from Cochin.

[2] Small vessels (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Sampan").

[3] See IV. II. vii. (p. 58, note [1]).

[4] The houses had been built of mud and covered with *olas* (cadjans); and D. João da Silveira, in the letter referred to above, expressed his fear lest the Siṃhalese should set fire to them. It will be seen below that the fear was not groundless.

[5] Both D. João da Silveira and Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo (*u.s.*) say that the Moorish merchant Mamale of Cananor had written to the king of Kóṭṭé that he was arranging with the governor to demolish the fortress and return to the *status quo ante*.

[6] D. João da Silveira (*u.s.*) complains of similar conduct on the part of the Siṃhalese.

of arms than his own forbearance, although he considered it to be more profitable for the government of the country. Finally, being goaded by both enemies and friends, during a siesta, the time when the heathenry of the country after eating lie down to sleep, and are the less suspicious on this account, with about one hundred and fifty picked men he attacked the town of Columbo[1], which was close to our fortress[2]. And as this sally was of a sudden, the enemy were so stricken with fear, that without thinking of wife or children they all took to flight at the first onset. As his intention was to intimidate, and not to kill, in order that they might become afraid of again attempting what they had done, Lopo de Brito ordered them to bind the women and children to the doorways of the houses, so that they might see that they had them in their power and did not wish to do them harm. However, when he was leaving, he ordered to set fire to a broad and straight street, which was the principal one of the city[3], and of greatest resort by the people, fearing that, on the retirement of our men, as the street led direct to our fortress, the enemy would come and fall upon his rear, whereby he might receive some harm; and so it happened. For when the first impulse of fear had passed, which had caused them to place themselves in safety, seeing that wife and children remained to them, they returned from love of them, like men devoted to death. And although the fire was a great protection to our men, being now great, and intervening between them and the others, nevertheless that fury cost the lives of many of them and of our men: for before they got free of that onrush of theirs more than thirty had been wounded, some of whom afterwards died. And truly, if they had not occupied themselves in extinguishing the fire, and had not found the women and children bound to the doorways, by which they understood that that sally of Lopo de Brito's was more of a menace than a desire to injure them, since many hastened to their help, and they came on madly, it would not have taken much for them to enter the fortress together with our men.

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[1] In II. III. i. (p. 27) *supra*, Barros speaks of the "*lugar* of Columbo," the first word meaning literally "place," but used in reference to a town or village, irrespective of size. Here he employs the word *pövoaçam* (lit. "population"), meaning the native town (the "black town") as distinguished from the Portuguese fortress.

[2] The ancient town of Koḷam̃ba, Koḷompura, or Koḷontoṭa (the "city of Kalanbú" of Ibn Batuta), may possibly have extended from the site of the present Pettah to the Kẹlani river.

[3] Barros now uses the word *cidade*, to signify that Columbo was of considerable size.

Nevertheless, with the hurt that they there received in attacking our men their indignation doubled, whereupon they showed openly the hatred they bore us, not delaying many days in coming to lay siege to the new fortress. On their first arrival, although Lopo de Brito saw himself in a great strait, they being nearly twenty thousand men, as they had come badly arrayed, at the cost of many of their lives he drove them back, and made them busy themselves in pitching their camp. Making their entrenchments of earth, with a facing of many palm-trees, little by little, like people that come at their ease, they went on approaching our fortress, until they constructed two bastions of the same palm-trees, in which they placed some artillery. Although this was not so furious as ours, the large number made up for the fury, because in that siege there were more than six hundred spingardoons, some of which were of the size of bases, which discharged wooden arrows ten spans in length, with feathers of wild-boar leather which at two hundred paces made very great execution[1]. And beside this annoyance, in seeing by day the air thick with these arrows, at night they had another, which was being lit up by fire-arrows in order to burn the thatched houses that they had; and the greatest of all was, going to seek drinking water outside the fortress[2], because all cost much blood.

This siege lasted for the space of five months[3]; whereby, as it was during the winter season, and no succour could come to them from India, it was the cause of our people's suffering much trouble; until from Cochij there came to them in succour a galley, captain Antonio de Lemos[4], son of Joam Gomez de Lemos, lord of Trófa, in which he brought some fifty men, and even these could with difficulty be sent. Because at this time Diogo Lopez de Sequeira had gone to the strait of the Red Sea, with a force of so many sail and men (as we have

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[1] *Cf.* Couto's statement in V. I. V. (p. 72) as to the ignorance of fire-arms on the part of the Sinhalese.

[2] This statement is strange, in view of the fact that among the advantages of the point for a fortress, so D. Francisco de Almeida wrote to King Manuel on 27 December 1506, was "much water," and Correa in his drawing shows a well *within* the fortress.

[3] The months are not named; but as Barros goes on to say that it was during the "winter" season, we may take it that the siege lasted from April to September.

[4] In III. IX. ii. (p. 55) we find him spoken of as captain-major of the sea at Columbo, his brother Fernão Gomes de Lemos being captain of the fortress.

described[1]), and the fortresses of India were left with only the regulation number for their defence, and that of Cochij, which was nearer to Ceilam, had less men than the others, on account of being more secure, a greater succour could not be sent to Lopo de Brito. And even this that went to him was more for the safety of himself and of the persons that were there than because of the possession of the same fortress : since it was not considered as an important matter to the state of India for us to have there taken that possession, because without it we had all the cinnamon for the loading of our ships, and the king of the country, without this yoke which intimidated him, was willing to pay his tribute. And afterwards in the course of time it was seen how needless it was, whereupon it was ordered to be demolished[2], only a factory house remaining, whereby the king of the country was entirely disaffrighted ; and yet to some of them it was serviceable, with the aid that they had from us against their enemies with whom they were at war, as we shall describe later on[3]. Lopo de Brito, seeing what small succour had come to him, and learning the reasons why, determined to drive away from there that body of neighbours, from whom he had received so much harm, before they should learn how few men had come to their help ; calculating that even if he could do no more in that sally of his from the fortress than capture the two bastions that had done them so much harm, he might consider that as a great victory. Having agreed in council on the manner in which they were to carry out that sally, Lopo de Brito ordered Antonio de Lemos to place himself with his galley in front of the bastions, making as if from there he intended to batter them with the great pieces that he carried in the galley : and he himself on the following day during the siesta, which is the time of sleep among the heathenry (as we have already said), on a given signal, with some three hundred men attacked the enemies' positions. And it pleased God that when they felt the sword

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[1] The reference is to III. III. x. The governor left Goa for the Red Sea on 13 February 1520, with a fleet of twenty-four sail carrying some three thousand men of arms, of whom more than half were Portuguese. Regarding the expedition see Whiteway 190 ff.

[2] See p. 55.

[3] As the fortress was demolished in 1524, and as Barros does not tell us of any more fighting between now and then, he must mean that the existence in Columbo of a Portuguese factory was of benefit to the king of Kóṭṭé, and his reference is doubtless to IV. VIII. xiv., where he describes how in 1538 the Portuguese factor and his companions helped Bhuwaneka Báhu VII. to defend Kóṭṭé against the army of his brother Máyádunné (see *infra*, p. 98).

of our men in them, they gave them the opportunity of making themselves masters of the bastions, Antonio de Lemos during this time having his galley covered with arrows and bolts, from which he received much damage. The body of men that was further back in the arrayal, and also that which was lodged in the city, which was the principal one, seeing that these two bastions had been entered by us, and the great confusion that was caused by the *sauve qui peut*, the captains hastened from all parts, whereby was formed a large number of men, among whom were included one hundred and fifty horse, which for that island of Ceilam, where they are not much used, was a great quantity[1]; and there also came some twenty-five elephants[2], equipped with their castles, from which fought many men with arrows. Four of these, as more skilled in the use of warfare, came in front making great sweeps with certain swords that they carried fastened backwards to their tusks[3]. The which spectacle of wild beasts, coming accompanied by so great a force of men, put our men into such confusion, that many gave ground. Lopo de Brito, having rallied all the men to him before those wild beasts had entirely driven them back, all the matchlockmen that he had with him at the same time firing at the four front elephants, shouted the "Santiágo!" at them, and with their spears fixed wounded them severely. These, when they found themselves annoyed by the matchlocks and spears, wheeled round trumpeting upon their own people, fleeing so blindly, that they charged into those that were coming behind, and these into others, in such wise that their rout gave the greater boldness to our men, who drove them before them with loud shouts at the spear point. And since there was not in the bodies of the Moors and heathens of the island such hardness as in the hides of the elephants, upon which, when they are enraged, the point of a spear has no more effect than that caused by the spike of a goad on the hide of an ox when it is pricked, that action left them dead and wounded. Lopo de Brito having traversed a broad street, by which these people had come, as soon as he began to get among trees turned round and retired, fearing the lie of the land, and contented himself with the victory that God had given him, which had also cost enough of our men's blood. However, the result of this affair was that the king

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[1] This is the only instance mentioned by the Portuguese historian of the use of horses in war by the Sinhalese, and I doubt if the horsemen in this case were natives of Ceylon.

[2] Here we have war elephants mentioned for the first time. We shall read much of them later.

[3] *Cf.* Varth. 127.

seeing some of his noblemen killed, and that the Moors who had incited him to this rebellion against us were not the ones to deliver him from our subjection, as they had promised him, that day having passed, not many elapsed before he sent to beg peace of Lopo de Brito, whereupon the affairs of that fortress resumed the state of peace in which they had been before.

DEC. III., BK. VII., CHAP. XI.

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...... This Christian[1] also related to us that in the house of Coulam, which was built by another disciple of the apostle Saint Thomas, stood a sepulchre of the Sybil which they called Indica, and that church was an oratory of hers. And that through her warning, announcing the birth of Christ Jesus, a king of the island of Ceilam called Pirimal went in a ship to the coast of Mascate to join two other kings, who were going to adore the Lord at Bethlehem, and that he was the third; who at the request of the Sybil brought the likeness of Our Lady painted in a picture, which was placed in her own sepulchre[2]. Of the voyage of which kings, and where the two dwelt in whose company he went, we shall write in our *Geography* when we treat of the cities Nazua and Balla, ...

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DEC. III., BK. IX., CHAP. II.

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...... And as the viceroy[3] carried instructions that he was to demolish the fortresses of Coulam, Ceilam, Calecut, and

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[1] One of the Syrian Christians of Malabar, who came to Portugal to learn Latin, and from whom Barros obtained information, which he gives in this chapter.

[2] Barros does not seem to have realized that this story was a strangely garbled version of the one he had related in I. IX. iii. of the king of *Malabar*, Saramá Pereimal, who was converted to Muslim, abandoned his kingdom, and went as a pilgrim to Mecca. (Couto in VII. IX. X. speaks of a Xarão Perimal who in the fourth or sixth century was well disposed to the St. Thomas Christians of Cranganor.) Cheramám Perumál was not a king of Ceylon, but, according to Zínuddín, was converted by sheiks who were on their way to Ceylon as pilgrims to Adam's Peak, and who called for him on their return. (See Ten. i. 630 *n.*, ii. 136 *n.*; David Lopes's *Hist. dos Port. no Malabar* lvii. 20.)

[3] D. Vasco da Gama, count of Vidigueira and admiral of the Indian sea. This was his third and last voyage to India, and he died on 24 December 1524 at Cochin, where he was buried.

Pacem, and to erect one in Sunda, and, besides this, had in a short time to provide for many things, he (the viceroy) at once set himself with great speed in Goa to provide for some ...... And he also sent word to Fernam Gomez de Lemos, who was stationed as captain of the fortress of the island of Ceilam[1], that he was to demolish it, the king having commanded that this should be done, and that he was to come in the ships that his brother Antonio de Lemos had in guard of that port, of which he was sea captain-major, the which he did[2]. ......

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[1] Correa alone of the historians tells us (ii. 733) when Fernão Gomes was sent to succeed Lopo de Brito, viz., in September 1522.

[2] This was probably in November 1524. Barros is entirely silent regarding the serious charges brought against Fernão Gomes de Lemos, which Correa details (ii. 832, 844; see also *Three Voy. of V. da Gama* 408, 424–5; *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 205).

BARROS AND COUTO.

DECADE IV.

1526–1536 A.D.

[As the Barros-Lavanha Decade IV. and Couto's Decade IV. cover the same period (though the former extends to 1539), I have taken them together, except where one records events not related by the other.]

Portuguese Governors of India.—Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, governor, February 1526 to November 1529; Nuno da Cunha, governor, November 1529 to September 1538.

Sinhalese Rulers in Ceylon.—Vijaya Báhu VII., 1505–34 (Dondra and Kóṭṭé); Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX., 1508–27 (Kóṭṭé); Bhuvaneka Báhu VII., 1534–51 (Kóṭṭé); Máyádunné, 1534–81 (?), Sitávaka).

The only events connected with Ceylon recorded in this Decade are the siege of the king of Kóṭṭé in 1528 (?) by his brother Máyádunné, assisted by an armada from Calecut, the siege being raised and the king relieved by the dispatch from Cochin to Columbo of a Portuguese armada under the command of Martim Affonso de Mello Jusarte.

Barros.

DEC. IV., BK. II., CHAP. vii.

Of some armadas that Lopo Vaz[1] dispatched, and how he succoured the fortress of Ceilam, which was besieged, sending to it Martim Afonso de Mello.

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The armada having been got ready, of eight large sail and several rowing vessels, the captains of which were Antonio Cardoso, Francisco Ferreira, Duarte Mendez de Vasconcellos.

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[1] The governor Lopo Vaz de Sampaio.

Francisco Velho, João Lobato, Manuel da Veiga, Manuel Vieira, João Coelho, Vasco Rabello, and Thome Rodriguez, there embarked on it four hundred men; and being on the point of leaving, there came news to the governor that Boenegobago Pandar[1], king of Cota in Ceilam, was besieged by Patemarcar[2], captain-major of the king of Calecut, who through his sea-ports was doing him much harm through hatred of us, and in favour of Madune Pandar, brother of the same king of Cota[3]; wherefore it being necessary to succour that king, he being a vassal of the king of Portugal's, the governor ordered Martim Afonso to set out at once, and cross over to Ceilam, and succour the king Boenegobago Pandar. Martim Afonso made the voyage as he had been ordered, and arrived at Columbo[4], where he did not now find Patemarcar, who on getting news of our armada betook himself into the rivers of the island in parts where our ships being large could not come at them, and Madune Pandar raised the siege that he had laid to his brother.

Martim Afonso, in order not to lose his monsoon[5], was unwilling to be detained in Ceilam, and with much plunder that

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[1] We find Barros and Couto applying this name to several kings erroneously. Vijaya Báhu VII. was still reigning at Kóṭṭé, Bhuwaneka Báhu VII. not succeeding until 1534, according to the generally received chronology.

[2] Couto in V. II. iv. says that the proper name of this man was Paichimarca (? Payichchi Marakkár). He seems to have first turned pirate in 1519 (see Correa ii. 569), the reason for his action being told us by Barros below (p. 92); and for many years he proved one of the most formidable enemies the Portuguese had to contend with in the Indian seas. We shall hear of him again. In Cast. VII. xviii. we read of his being on the way to attack the king of Ceylon with a large fleet in January 1527.

[3] Barros and Couto both state that Madune, the king's brother, was besieging him; but I think they must be in error. As I have said, Bhuwaneka Báhu did not come to the throne until 1534, when his brother Máyádunné began an active campaign against him, and did besiege him in Kóṭṭé in 1537–8, as we shall see. Perhaps these writers have made two events out of one, and Martim Affonso de Mello Jusarte may have been confused with Martim Affonso de Sousa. At any rate, Castanheda, who records the war waged by Patimarcar on the king of Ceylon (VII. lxv.), says nothing of Madune; while Correa (iii. 262) is absolutely silent regarding any call at Ceylon by Martim Affonso. Equally silent on the subject are the *Rájávaliya* and Zínuddín.

[4] He seems to have left Cochin in March 1528, and therefore reached Columbo in that month or in April.

[5] If the south-west monsoon burst while he was at Columbo he would be unable to get to the Coromandel coast.

he took from ships of Moors that were there he departed, and put in to Calecare[1], where he had an interview with the lord of the territory, and agreed with him in regard to the carrying on of the fishery of seed-pearl, which is fished in those shoals of Ceilam, at a fixed price, and with the obligation that he should pay every year three thousand *pardáos*, in return for which the governor of India would send and keep guard over the fishers during the time of the fishery[2], as captain of which at that time there went Diogo Rabello with some ships. And because the inhabitants of Care[3], a place adjoining Calecare, where seed-pearl is also fished, had murdered João Flores, captain of the guard of that fishery[4], Martim Afonso proceeded thither, and destroyed it[5], and thence went to Paleacate.

Couto.

DEC. IV., BK. IV., CHAP. V.

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...... But what we are able to ascertain regarding this[6] is, that whilst the governor was in the course of preparing to send men to Francisco de Sá, there arrived an ambassador from the king of Cota, a vassal of the king of Portugal's, to beg the governor on behalf of the king to succour him, because his brother Madune sought to deprive him of the

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[1] Kílakarai, in Portuguese times the headquarters of the pearl fishery in the Gulf of Maṇṇár. In Dutch times Tuticorin took its place.

[2] Castanheda (*u.s.*) also records this agreement with the chief of Kílakarai.

[3] This is, I think, a misprint or mislection for Cael (on which place see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*).

[4] João Flores we have met with in III. II. ii. (p. 40). The killing of him and his companions by the Moors is described in detail by Correa iii. 235–6; see also *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 205–6.

[5] None of the other historians records this.

[6] Couto has been expressing doubt regarding the accuracy of Castanheda's statements (in VII. lxv.) that the governor requested Martim Affonso to go to Sunda to erect a fortress, and that he declined because Francisco de Sá had already been intrusted with the task, but consented on pressure from the governor.

throne with the favour and help of the Çamorim, who had sent him a great armada, whereby he held him in great straits. The governor having considered these matters in council, it was resolved that that king ought to be succoured with all haste: for which purpose the governor dispatched the same Martim Afonso de Mello[1], with eleven[2] sail, among which was a royal galley, and a galliot, and the rest rowing vessels, of the captains of which we can find the names of only three[3], Thome Pirez, Duarte Mendez de Vasconcellos, and João Coelho: the governor giving him instructions that he was to cross over to Ceilão to succour that king, and from there was to go and winter on the coast of Choramandel, ... there embarked four hundred men ......

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DEC. IV., BK. IV., CHAP. X.

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...... This captain having left Goa[4] went and put in to the island of Ceilão, according to the instructions he bore, in order to succour that king of Cota, who was already relieved of the armada of Calecut; because as soon as it received warning of ours it at once withdrew, and Madune raised the siege that he had laid to his brother. And as we give an account of the cause of this war and the origin of these kings further on at the beginning of the Fifth Decade, that appearing to us a better place, we omit it now. That king of Cota esteemed this succour much, and became more amenable to the service of the king of Portugal, whose vassal he was. Martim Afonso, having nothing more to do there, set sail, and crossed the shoals to the other side, and went to winter at Paleacate, ...

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[1] Martim Affonso de Mello Jusarte, who, according to Castanheda, was a relative of the governor's.

[2] Castanheda (*u.s.*) says "nine."

[3] Couto has evidently copied these from Castanheda. Barros gives the full list.

[4] It was from Cochin, not Goa, that he had been dispatched by the governor.

DEC. IV., BK. VI., CHAP. vii.

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...... From there[1] we went to India[2]; and the king[3] (whom God keep), being cognisant of my good services, sent me the offer of Ormuz or Ceilão, whichever I chose, which did not have effect on account of my being in the kingdom, because I left there in the year that Lopo Soárez went to India[4]. ......

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[1] Ormuz.

[2] The speaker is Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, governor of India, 1526–9, who, having been sent home a prisoner, after an incarceration of two years was brought before King João II. to make his defence and have sentence passed upon him (see Whiteway 211). The passage here given is from his lengthy speech in his defence: he is speaking of the time when he accompanied Albuquerque on his last expedition in 1515.

[3] Dom Manuel (died 1521).

[4] That is, in 1515. He must, therefore, have left for Portugal at the end of that year; and the king's offer must have crossed him on the way. The fortress at Ormuz was finished only at the end of 1515, and that of Ceylon not until the end of 1518: so that in both cases the offer was anticipatory.

COUTO.

DECADE V.

1536–1545 A.D.

Portuguese Governors of India.—Nuno da Cunha, governor, November 1529 to September 1530; D. Garcia de Noronha, viceroy, September 1530 to April 1540; D. Estevão da Gama, governor, April 1540 to May 1542; Martim Affonso de Sousa, governor, May 1542 to September 1546.

Sinhalese Rulers in Ceylon.—Bhuvaneka Báhu VII., 1534–51 (Kóṭṭé); Máyádunné, 1534–81 (?), (Sítávaka); Víra Vikrama, 1542–45 (Kandy).

Tamil King in Jaffna.—Saṅgili.

In this Decade Couto tells us of the attempts made by Máyádunné to oust his brother Bhuvaneka Báhu from the throne of Kóṭṭé, laying siege to the city twice, between 1536 and 1539, and having the help of a Moorish force from Calecut. The siege was raised on the first occasion by Martim Affonso de Sousa (who subsequently inflicted a severe defeat on the Moors near Rámésvaram),[1] and on the second by Miguel Ferreira, when the Moorish leaders were treacherously murdered. We are also told of Bhuvaneka Báhu's sending (in 1540) an ambassador to the king of Portugal with a golden image of his infant grandson to be crowned as his successor. Jaffna first appears in Couto's history in a somewhat incidental manner. In one chapter Couto gives an account of the ancient history of the island as obtained by him from native sources; in another a learned dissertation on the opinions held by ancient geographers regarding Taprobana; and in a third, an interesting discussion on Adam's Peak.

[1] As the above incidents are recorded also in the Barros-Lavanha Dec. IV., I have combined the versions of the latter with those of Couto (see *infra*, pp. 73–9, 90–8).

Dec. V., Bk. i., Chap. v.

Of the antiquity of the population of the island of Ceilaõ ; of the beginning and origin of its kings ; and of all those that it had until Bonoega Bao Pandar, who reigned in this year of 1537.

Since it falls to us here to enter on the wars of Ceilaõ (which since we discovered that island has always been to the state of India another Carthage to Rome ; because, little by little, it has gone on consuming, in expenses, men and artillery, so much, that it alone has swallowed up with its wars more than all the other conquests of this East[1]), it will be well for us to give an account of the beginning of its population and of the origin of its kings, a subject regarding which no one has hitherto written except ourselves[2], the which it cost us much trouble to ascertain from their own writings, which we found in the hands of some princes of that island who came to this city of Goa[3].

Accordingly it must be known that about five hundred years before the advent of Christ there was reigning in the kingdom of Ajota (which nowadays we call Tanaçarim[4]) a heathen king, who at that time possessed the greatest empire in the East, since he had under his sceptre all that lies between the river Ganges and Cochin-China[5], and inland as far as some forty degrees north. This king had a son called Vigia Raya, heir to the kingdom, so wild, and of such a licentious nature, that in all his father's dominions there was not a married

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[1] Couto wrote this in 1597 or a little before, at the time when Azevedo the infamous was trying to retrieve the disastrous defeat of Pedro Lopes de Sousa in 1594 by carrying fire and sword through the lowlands of Ceylon (see Dec. XII., *passim*).

[2] Couto is justified in making this assertion, his summary of the *Rájávaliya* (a very meagre and not very correct one unfortunately) being the earliest version in any European language.

[3] In V. ii. x. (p. 101) Couto tells us that he had heard one of these princes chant the Siṇhalese chronicles. The princes referred to were probably Dom Filippe of Kandy and his son Dom João and nephew Dom Filippe of Sítávaka, all of whom were refugees or captives at Goa shortly before this (see *infra*, pp. 389, note [4], 392, note [4]).

[4] This parenthetical statement is, of course, founded on a serious blunder, Couto having confused the ancient Ayodhya (Oudh) in Northern India with its modern namesake in Siam (see *Hob.-Job. s.vv.* "Oudh" and "Judea"). We find the same confusion in his account of the origin of the Solar dynasty in V. ii. x. (p. 101).

[5] The Siṇhalese chronicles do not credit Siṇhabáhu with ruling over an empire of any such extent as here stated, and his petty kingdom lay in exactly the opposite direction to that indicated by Couto.

woman or a maiden whom he desired that was not at once brought to him, insulting and dishonouring them, and killing and impaling all that sought to defend them, and towards others using brutal inhumanities: whereby he so harassed everyone, that the people, being unable to endure him any longer, assembled and went to complain to his father, and to beg him for justice for such insults and cruelties. And as he was vexed with his son on account of seeing in him no amendment, nor perceiving any inclination towards good, having already many times admonished him, he commanded secretly to equip many vessels, and in them to place provisions and necessary things; and when all was ready he took his son unawares, and embarked him with seven hundred youths of his own age and of his retinue, who in his turpitudes had all been ever his companions: because it was a custom in that kingdom, on the day that the son and heir was born, for the king to command all the male children that were born on the same day, throughout all the realms that he possessed, to be written down and enrolled, who were brought to the court from seven years upward in order to be trained together with the prince; and on the day that this one was born there was found a great number of them, of whom seven hundred were still living[1].

After the king had embarked his son he told him that he was to go through the world and seek countries that he might populate, but that he was not to return to his kingdom, because he would kill him and all the rest. This prince having departed set sail and went along at the mercy of the winds without knowing whither he went, and in a few days he came in sight of a desert island[2], which is this of Ceilaõ, at which he came to land on the inner side[3], in a port that is called Preaturè, which lies between Triquillimalé and the point of Jafanapataõ[4]; and disembarking on land, they were much

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[1] *Cf. Rájáv.* 15–6.

[2] Couto, it will be noticed, says nothing of the *yakkha* population of Ceylon.

[3] By the "inner side" of Ceylon Portuguese writers meant the eastern side.

[4] Rijklof van Goens the elder, in his version of the *Rájávaliya* narrative (Val. *Ceylon* 210), says that Vijaya made landfall near the hill of Trincomalee. Couto, it will be seen, puts the landing-place between this and the point of Jaffna. The only port on that stretch of coast with a name like "Preaturè" is Point Pedro (Tam. Paruttitturai = "cotton roadstead"). But, from what follows, it looks as if Couto had got on the wrong side of the island, and that Preaturè = Periyaturai = Mahátittha = Mántota.

pleased with the sweetness of its odours, the softness of its airs, the coolness of its rivers, and the beauty of its woods : wherefore they determined to remain there, and began to form their towns. The first city that they founded was in that part of Mantota, opposite to Manar[1]. Here they remained sustaining themselves for some time with the multitude of fish from the sea and rivers, and with the many and excellent fruits from the jungles, which all consisted of oranges, limes and lemons, and other different sorts very sweet to the smell and very delicious to the taste. And on account of the great fertility that they found in all respects, they gave to that island the name of Lancao, which is a word that corresponds to " Earthly Paradise." This was the first name that it had, and its true one, which it still preserves[2].

After these strangers had been there some months, there put in to that island some vessels from the opposite coast for the fishery of seed-pearls[3] (of which there is great plenty there), and coming to speech with those that were in them, they learnt that they were from a kingdom that lay on the other side of the mainland a day's journey, in which reigned a ruler called Cholca[4] Raya; and having obtained information regarding his state and power, the prince entertained the idea of forming a family alliance with him. To this end he dispatched in the same vessels some ambassadors, by whom he sent to beg him that since they were such neighbours he would think well that they should have intercourse and should be united by family ties by his giving him a daughter in marriage, and some others of the noble ladies of his realms as wives of those men that he had brought with him. These ambassadors arrived at the opposite coast, and were conducted to the king, who received them well, and learning about the prince, and whose son he was (the father being well known throughout the whole of the East), he considered himself fortunate in his

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[1] Couto has probably confused Mántoṭa with Tammanátoṭa (see *Rájáv.* 16).

[2] Barros, as we have seen above (p. 32), credits the Siamese alone with calling the island " Lamcá." Couto is correct in his statements in the last sentence, but his explanation of Laṅká would apply more appropriately to the name of Tenassarim = *tanah sari*, " land of happiness " (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* " Tenasserim ").

[3] The statements here made by Couto are not corroborated by the extant native chronicles ; but they are interesting, and may be founded on popular tradition.

[4] An evident misprint or misreading for " Cholea." According to the Siṇhalese chronicles, however, it was the Páṇḍya and not the Chola kingdom from which Vijaya obtained his queen.

desiring to ally himself by marriage with him, and replied to him favourably, sending him many compliments. And after the exchange of visits on both sides he sent him a daughter for himself, with a very large retinue of ladies and maidens, and a number of other daughters of noblemen for those of his company, the nuptials being celebrated between them all with great solemnities; thenceforward they frequently went to and fro and interchanged communications, many persons crossing over to live in that island, principally workmen of every craft, and agriculturists with their plows, seed, cattle, and everything else necessary for human life. With this that island began to increase, and the interior to become populated in such manner that great and beautiful cities and towns were built.

And because those people there had been degraded, those of the opposite coast called them Gallas, which is the same as "banished"[1]. That prince, seeing that the affairs of that island were increasing so much, intitled himself emperor of the island of Lancao; albeit foreigners also called it Illenáre, which in the Malavar language signifies "the kingdom of the island"[2], which is the second name that it had. And as these banished men spoke the Tanaçarim language, which was their own, after they had united in marriage with the women of the opposite coast, who spoke Malavar (which is the most in use that there is on that coast of Canará), the two languages becoming mixed came to form that which they use nowadays, albeit the most speak pure Malavar[3]. This king lived twenty-five years[4], and having no children left the kingdom to a brother of his, whom while he was alive he had sent to beg of his father: because by-and-by, as soon as he had established his residence in that country, they communicated and traded with one another.

This brother that succeeded him[5] had many sons, in whose descendants that kingdom continued for nine hundred years[6] without going out of the line. When these had passed it came under the rule of one called Dambadine Pandar Pracura Mabago, or Bao[7], of whom we shall treat presently. From this

[1] Perhaps Couto means Tam. *káládi* = "wanderer," or he may have been thinking of the Kaḷḷar tribe.

[2] See *supra*, p. 30, note [5].

[3] There are almost as many errors as lines in this sentence.

[4] The Siṇhalese chronicles say thirty-eight.

[5] It was really his brother Sumitta's son Paṇḍuvásadeva who succeeded Vijaya.

[6] Nearly double that period, according to the Siṇhalese chronology.

[7] Dam̃badeṇi Parákrama Báhu II., 1240 or 1267 A.D.

time forward this island began to be famous in the world on account of the much and very fine cinnamon that its jungles yielded[1].

And as the Chins were the first that sailed throughout the East, having received information regarding the cinnamon, many *juncos* hastened to that island to load it, and from there carried it to the ports of Persia and Arabia, whence it passed to Europe, as we shall relate more fully further on. Thus this island was so frequented by Chin *juncos*, that every year there went to it a great number of them, from which many Chins remained in the country, and intermarried with the natives: from between whom were born certain mixties, who continued calling themselves Cim Gallás, adding the name of the natives, who were Gallas, to that of the Chins, whose proper name is Cim, and formed that which we nowadays corruptly call Chimgallas, who in course of time came to be so famous, that they gave their name to all in the island[2].

And so, as they proceed from the Chins, who are the falsest heathens of the East, and from the banished men who had been expelled from their own country as wicked and cruel: so all those of this island are the most cowardly, false, and deceitful that there are in the whole of India, because never up to this day has there been found in a Chingalla faith or truth[3].

And as the Chins continued to carry on trade with this island, and are wicked (as we have said), there put in there an armada of theirs, when Dambadine Pandar was king[4], whom we have mentioned above; and those of the country not being

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[1] This statement, which is not found in the Siṃhalese chronicles, may be founded on popular tradition. Kazwini, the Arab writer of the 13th century, seems to be the first that mentions Ceylon cinnamon (see Ten. i. 599–600, and Suckl. i. 247).

[2] Couto here repeats the absurd statements of Barros in III. II. i. (p. 33).

[3] The only excuse for this monstrous and sweeping statement is, that at the time when Couto wrote (*circa* 1597) the erstwhile *protégé* of the Portuguese and good Catholic, Dom João de Austria, was, as the Buddhist king Vimala Dharma Súrya, compelling those same Portuguese to pour out their blood and treasure in a vain attempt to gain the domination of Ceylon. In VI. VIII. vii. (p. 140) Couto makes an exception in favour of King Bhuvaneka Báhu VII., that *bête noire* of the *Rájávaliya*.

[4] This statement proves that the copy of the *Rájávaliya* in the possession of the Siṃhalese princes who supplied Couto with his information had the usual hiatus after the reign of Parákrama Báhu II. (see *Rájávaliya* iv. 66). In reality, the reigning king was Víra Báhu or Vijaya Báhu VI. (? 1391–1412), and he it was whom the Chinese general Ching Ho in 1410 carried off captive to China (see Bell's *Rep. on Kẹgalla Dist.* 91–3; Sylvain Lévi in *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, 430, 440).

afraid of them, the day that they intended to embark they captured the king, and sacked his city; and carrying off from it great treasures they departed for China, and presented the captive king to theirs. The latter was very angry at the treachery that his vassals had practised on a king who had received them into his country; and he forthwith commanded them under pain of death to take him back again to his kingdom, for which purpose he ordered an armada to be got ready, in which he embarked him with every honour[1]; and so we shall leave him for the moment, to return to him again.

This captive king had a widowed daughter[2], who, with two little sons[3] that she had, had the fortune to escape from the Chins on the day of the sack, and with them betook herself into the interior. The Chins having embarked, as the king had no son left, a heathen called Alagexere[4], to whom the same king had given the government of the realm, seized the kingdom. This man, seeing himself in that position, fulfilling his office with the desire of reigning, strove much to get the princess with the princes into his hands, in order to kill them, and remain secure in the kingdom. This lady was warned of this plan; and wishing to save her sons, she proceeded with them to the parts about Ceitavaca in disguise, and with such secrecy that she confided in nobody: there she remained sustaining her sons in poverty[5]. The traitor, considering the boys to be dead, crowned himself as emperor of the whole island; and after he had governed for a little more than two years, there arrived the armada from China, which brought his king, and put in to the port of Columbo. The tyrant caused him to be received with very deceitful demonstrations: and conducting him to the city that night he murdered him[6], remaining king, as which he lived ten years[7]. This tyrant

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[1] It is noteworthy that this statement regarding the remission of Vijaya Báhu, which finds no place in the *Rájávaliya*, is confirmed by the Chinese historians (see Ten. i. 416, 624).

[2] According to the *Rájávaliya* (67) it was Vijaya Báhu's queen Sunétrá Déví.

[3] Only one according to the *Rájávaliya*.

[4] Alakeṣvara or Alagakkónára (see Bell's *Rep. on Kẹg. Dist.* 92; C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 281–308).

[5] See *Rájávaliya* 69–70; Bell's *Rep. on Kẹg. Dist.* 42.

[6] The foregoing is not borne out by any of the Siṇhalese chronicles.

[7] Alakeṣvara appears actually to have ruled for some five or six years. Couto leads us to infer that he died a natural death; but the *Rájávaliya* states that the elder Visidágama caused him to be put to death.

left no sons, and the government of the kingdom devolved upon a *chagatar*, a wise man, and morally upright[1]. The first thing that this man did was to send to seek the princes, who were wandering in exile, having now lost their mother[2]; and being brought before him, he received them as lords, forthwith swearing in as emperor the elder one, who intitled himself Maha Pracura Mabago[3], and who would now be sixteen years old[4], and married him to a daughter of the ruler of Candia, his vassal and relative[5]; and to the other brother, who intitled himself Madune Pracura Mabago, he gave the dominion of the Four Corlas[6]. This Maha Pracura transferred his court to the city of Cota, which he founded anew[7] after the same manner and for the same reason as the kings of the Decan so long afterwards founded the city of Xarbedar[8], —as we have related in the fourth chapter of the tenth book of the Fourth Decade, of the time in which the Moors conquered the Decan,—and ordained that all his heirs should be crowned there in order to aggrandize it. This king had no son, but had a daughter[9], who was married to Cholca Raya of the race of the ancient kings[10], by whom he had a son, whom his grandfather swore in as heir to the throne. In the time of this king there arrived at the city of Cota from the opposite coast a

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[1] The elder Visidágama is meant. (The word *changatar* was applied by Portuguese writers to the Buddhist priests: it perhaps represents Sin̥. *sangatârya*, "the venerable one of the assembly." On p. 284 *infra* it is spelt *sangatar*).

[2] The *Rájávaliya* tells us nothing of Sunétrá Déví's death.

[3] Ṣrí Parákrama Báhu VI. (? 1415 : see *Rep. on Kẹg. Dist.* 81).

[4] So also the *Rájávaliya* (68).

[5] According to the *Rájávaliya* his bride was a princess from Kíravẹlla (? Kíravẹli pattu in Beligal kóraḷé).

[6] From the *Paravisandésa* it would seem that Parákrama Báhu VI. actually had a brother named Parákrama of Máyádunu (see Alwis's *Des. Cat.* 216).

[7] Kóṭṭé or Jayawardhanapura was really founded by Alakeṣvara, though Parákrama Báhu VI. greatly enlarged and improved it (see *Rájávaliya* 66, 68; *Mahávan̥sa* 320, 321; C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 285, 304).

[8] Bídar in the Deccan, which was founded not "so long afterwards," but some seventy years later. The reason given by Couto for its founding is that a king saw a hare chasing a dog—a widespread fable (see Knox's *Hist. Rel.* 58; *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 376; Sewell's *Forg. Emp.* 19, 299).

[9] Ulakuḍa Déví (see *Rájáv.* 70; Macready's *Sela L. S.*, st. xcix.–ci.).

[10] The Sin̥halese chronicles do not state who Ulakuḍa Déví's husband was. He may have been the minister Nallurutanayá (see Macready's *Sela L. S.*, Introd., st. xciv.–xcv.).

panical[1] of the caste of those kings, a man of great activity and sagacity, whom the king welcomed, and married him to a woman of rank, by whom he had two sons and a daughter; these lads were brought up in companionship with the prince, with whom there was also a first cousin of these lads, the son of a sister of his mother's. These three lads grew up, and came to have such power in the kingdom, that the king noticed in them a change of disposition, from which he feared that on his death they would murder his grandson. And dissembling in regard to this, he resolved to separate them, which he did, commanding the two brothers to go and subject for him the kingdom of Jafanapataõ, which had rebelled against him, conferring on the elder one, who was called Québa Permal, the title of king of that dominion with the obligation of vassalage. This man, who was a very great horseman, and of the greatest size and strength of any of that time, in a few days made himself master of that dominion[2].

The emperor Maha Pracura Mabago Pandar[3] having succeeded to the dominion, when he had reigned a year and a half, his uncle, the ruler of the Corlas[4], died; and the king gave that dominion to the brother[5] of the king of Jafanapataõ. This emperor Javirá married a princess of the Seven Corlas, who was of the blood royal and was already a widow, by whom he had a son who was a witling from birth, and a daughter of whom their chronicles do not speak, wherefore she must have died young. This king reigned a few years; and a sister of his called Manica Pandar, taking her half-witted nephew in her arms, had him sworn as king, and herself as tutor and governess of the kingdom, as she was very prudent and courageous. After this lady had governed the kingdom for two years, seeing that a male sovereign was necessary, because there had already been several disturbances, and the nephew was incapable of reigning, she sent in great haste to summon Quebá Permal, king of Jafanapataõ, in order to hand over the

[1] For the ordinary meanings of this word see *Hob.-Job.* *s.v.* Panikar," and *cf. infra*, p. 286. Here, however, it seems to have some sense of rank.

[2] The person here called Québa Permal was Sapumal Kumára, the commander-in-chief, whom the king did send, as stated, to conquer the kingdom of Jaffna, of which he was made ruler (see *Rájáv.* 68, 69; *Sela L. S.* st. xxviii.). The family details given by Couto are not found elsewhere (see Bell's *Rep. on Kég. Dist.* 83).

[3] Víra Parákrama Báhu (? 1467).

[4] Parákrama of Máyádunu (see *supra*, p. 68).

[5] Ambulugala Kumára (see *Rájáv.* 68).

kingdom to him, he being the most valorous of all the princes of the island[1]. This came to the ears of his brother the king of the Corlas, who forthwith hastened to take part in this business, claiming the kingdom for himself[2]; but when the brother arrived, although they had many disputes, Quebá Permal became king, and changing his name called himself thenceforward Boenegabao Pandar, which signifies "king by strength of arm"[3]. This king married a gentlewoman, whom the king of Candia gave him as wife, saying that she was his daughter, which was not the fact; but he called her so because of having brought her up from childhood[4]. By this lady he had a son called Caipura Pandar, who on the death of his father succeeded to the kingdom[5]. He was not crowned more than four times (because those kings were accustomed to be crowned once every year on the same day as that on which they were first crowned; and for this reason the years of their rule are counted by the number of times that they were crowned[6]). So this king, having been already crowned four times, was slain by the king of the Corlas, who made himself emperor by force, and changed his name, calling himself Javira Pracura Mabagó Pandar[7]. This king already had four sons[8], and was not crowned more than three times. On his death there succeeded to the empire his eldest son called Drama

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[1] All the above is entirely at variance with the *Rájávaliya* (70), which simply says that, on the accession of Víra Parákrama Báhu, Sapumal marched from Jaffna to Kóṭṭé, slew the king, and assumed the sovereignty.

[2] The *Rájávaliya* says nothing of this.

[3] Sapumal on ascending the throne (? 1469) took the title of Ṣrí Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. Couto's explanation of the title is paraphrastic.

[4] The Siṉhalese chronicles are silent regarding any marriage of Bhuvaneka Báhu VI.

[5] What Caipura represents I do not know. According to the *Rájávaliya* (70) a prince who had been brought up by Bhuvaneka Báhu VI. was, on the death of the latter, proclaimed king under the title of Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu (? 1485).

[6] This statement appears to be founded on some misapprehension.

[7] The *Rájávaliya* (70) tells us that, on hearing of the death of Bhuvaneka Báhu VI., Kuḍa Kumára of Ambulugala marched from the Four Kóraḷés, defeated the royal army, proceeded to Kóṭṭé, slew Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu, and ascended the throne (1485) under the title of Víra Parákrama Báhu (VIII.).

[8] The *Rájávaliya* says a daughter also.

Pracura Mabago[1], who married a lady of the caste of the ancient kings, by whom he had three sons[2].

At this time there died one of the king's brothers[3], who left four sons and two daughters[4], and their mother married another brother of her husband's called Boenegabo Pandar, who was ruler of Reigaõ[5]. This king, after being crowned eight times, died[6], leaving three young sons, whom their uncle seized, and secretly slew[7], the right to the throne thus being left to him alone, whereupon he forthwith had himself crowned as emperor[8], bringing up in his house the three stepsons whom we have mentioned, who were also his nephews, the sons of his brother[9], who were called Boenegabo Pandar, who was the eldest, and the second Reigaõ Pandar. and the third Madune Pandar[10].

In the time of this king Boenegabo Pandar[11], Dom Lourenço d'Almeida, son of the viceroy Dom Francisco d'Almeida, in the year of our Lord 1505, arrived at that island[12], and sending

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[1] Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. commenced to reign 1508, though his brother Vijaya Báhu VII. had already assumed regal power (in the south of Ceylon ?) in 1505 (see Bell's *Rep. on Kḙg. Dist.* 85–6, 96).

[2] The *Rájávaliya* does not tell us of any marriage of this king's.

[3] Ṣrí Rája Siṇha (see *Rájáv.* 71, 74).

[4] According to the *Rájávaliya* (74) Rája Siṇha and Vijaya Báhu had three sons by their common wife (no daughters are mentioned).

[5] There seems to be confusion here, Maha Rayigam Baṅḍára and Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. being sons of the common marriage mentioned in the previous note.

[6] According to the *Rájávaliya* (74) Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. reigned twenty-two years, Vijaya Báhu VII. succeeding him (1527).

[7] As I have said, the *Rájávaliya* does not even tell us that Dharma Parákrama Báhu ever married, so does not credit him with any sons. I think Couto must have evolved these three sons out of the three nephews he mentions below.

[8] Vijaya Báhu VII., on the death of his brother Dharma Parákrama Báhu, doubtless transferred his court from Dondra to Kóṭṭé.

[9] *Four* sons (and two daughters) is what Couto actually credited above to Rája Siṇha: now he conforms to the number given by the *Rájávaliya.*

[10] Bhuvaneka Báhu, Maha Rayigam Baṅḍára, and Máyádunné (*Rájáv.* 75).

[11] By "this king Boenegabo Pandar" Couto means Vijaya Báhu VII. To him and Couto this name "Boenegabo" (with various spellings) seems to have been one safe to use in all doubtful cases, being applied by them to kings who had no claim to it (see *supra*, p. 57, note [1]).

[12] The statement is correct, though the date is wrong (see *supra*, p. 22 ff.), and the inference is misleading, since Vijaya Báhu in 1506 was ruling in the south of Ceylon.

ashore to get water and wood, they tried to prevent him, wherefore he ordered to fire from the galleons some bombard shots, wherewith he astonished them in such manner that they betook themselves into the interior, those natives not being accustomed to hear that new noise amongst them[1], because at that time there was not a single firelock in the whole island ; and after we entered it, with the continual use of the war that we made on them, they became so dexterous as they are today, and came to cast the best and handsomest artillery in the world, and to make the finest firelocks, and better than ours[2], of which there are in the island today more than twenty thousand. This was the reason why Scipio was of opinion that one should never make war continuously on one same nation, lest they should become dexterous, as we have done to the Chingalas and Malavares, who by continual use are today more skilful than all the nations of the East, and so have given us more trouble to the state than all others.

And returning to our subject, as soon as this king learnt of the Portuguese armada that was in his port, so great was his fear that he sent to proffer terms of peace to Dom Lourenço, and to offer vassalage, which was accepted of him with a yearly tribute of four hundred *bares* of cinnamon, which are equal to one thousand two hundred quintals[3].

These three *infantes*, nephews and stepsons of this king, beginning to grow up and arrive at manhood, their uncle and stepfather began to find them such an incumbrance that he resolved to murder them, as he had already done with three other nephews, first cousins of these ; but there was not wanting someone who warned the youths, whereupon they fled from the anger of their uncle to the kingdom of Candia[4]. Thence, with the help of that king[5] and of other lords, they sallied forth with large armies and attacked Cota, killing their uncle, and taking from him the kingdom[6]. And as in these

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[1] *Cf. Rájáv.* 73, 74. On the knowledge of firearms among the natives of India and Ceylon, see Whiteway 37 ff.

[2] *Cf. infra*, p. 117, note [11].

[3] See *supra*, p. 23.

[4] See *Rájáv.* 74–5. According to this authority the three fled to Jaffna, where Máyádunné left the elder two and proceeded to Kandy (or, rather, "the hill-country," the city of Kandy being not yet founded).

[5] Jayavíra Baṇḍára, according to the *Rájávaliya* (75) ; he was first cousin to Máyádunné (see *infra*, p. 124).

[6] See *Rájáv.* 75–6. According to this chronicle no one could be got to undertake the assassination of Vijaya Báhu, until at length "a stranger, Salma by name" (Val. *Ceylon* 76 has "Seelam"), consented to do the bloody deed.

envy and covetousness had as yet no place, that affair being still fresh, they divided amongst themselves the empire, there going to the eldest, who was called Boenegabago Pandar[1], the kingdom of Cota, which was the capital; and to the middle one, who was called Reigaõ Pandar, fell the kingdom of Reigaõ with that city, where first was the capital of the empire[2]; to the youngest called Madune Pandar went the city of Ceitavaca with its territories[3]: all three being sworn in as kings of that which fell to them. The king of Cota married a great-grand-daughter of the king Javira Pracura Mabago[4].

After the partition of these kingdoms had taken place, there arrived at this island the governor Lopo Soárez in the year of our Lord 1517[5], and built the fortress of Columbo, that king of Cota having the vassalage renewed, with the obligation of three hundred *bares* of cinnamon, and twelve rings of rubies and sapphires, and six elephants for the service of the dockyard at Cochim. This tribute was paid for several years until it was entirely lost, as we shall relate more fully in due course.

Dec. V., Bk. i., Chap. vi.

Of how Madune, king of Ceitavaca, determined to take the kingdom from his elder brother with the help of the Çamorim, who for that purpose sent him a great armada: and of how Martim Afonso de Sousa had advice thereof and went in search of it, and utterly destroyed it, and passed over to Ceilaõ.

These three brothers[6] continued in their dominions for some years; but Madune the youngest, as he increased in age, so did he in cupidity, desiring greatly to attain to the monarchy of that island, scheming methods and stratagems to that end. And the one that seemed to him best was to murder his eldest

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[1] Bhuvaneka Báhu VII. (accession 1534).

[2] Referring probably to the fact that, before founding Jayawardhana Kóṭṭé, Alakeṣvara resided in the city of Rayigama (*Rájáv.* 66; Bell's *Rep. of Kég. Dist.* 92). *Cf. infra*, p. 99, note [4].

[3] See *Rájáv.* 77. According to this authority Máyádunné built the city of Sítávaka with the aid of the minister Árya.

[4] The *Rájávaliya* (77) says that Bhuvaneka Báhu "took to wife a princess from the royal family of Gampola in the hill-country, and had a daughter by her."

[5] It was in 1518 that Lopo Soares came to Ceylon (see *supra*, p. 39), sixteen years *before* the partition spoken of.

[6] See preceding chapter.

brother, because with the other he would have little trouble[1]. Whilst he was harbouring these designs, there happened to go[2] this past August [1536] seven *paráos* of Malavares at the time that Nuno Freire d'Andrade, *alcaide mór* and factor of that port[3], was in Cota with the king, having in his company seven or eight Portuguese, of whom the king was very fond, because he was a great friend of all[4]. The Moors of the *paráos* being arrogant sent to request the king to send them forthwith those Portuguese. The king, in a taking at this, said "Yes"; and giving an account of the affair to Nuno Freire d'Andrade, told him that he wished to send some captains, which they call *modeliares*, to attack the Moors and chastise them for that impertinence. Nuno Freire begged of him as a favour that expedition, because it also concerned him: he granted it to him, giving him Samlupur *arache*[5] with six hundred men. Nuno Freire, with these few Portuguese that he had, set out in the daybreak watch, and at dawn arrived before Columbo: taking the Malavares on land unawares, and attacking them, he made a great slaughter, and of those that were able to escape, some threw themselves into the sea and got into the ships, while others betook themselves into the interior, and went to stay at Ceitavaca. Those in the sea collected in three of the ships, and went off, leaving the other four in the possession of our people with all their contents.

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[1] The *Rájávaliya* (77) tells us that "Máyádunné having taken counsel with Rayigam Bańḍára raised disturbances in the territory which belonged to Bhuvaneka Báhu, paying no heed to the latter being their elder [brother]," but gives no reason for their action. (After the paragraph ending with the words I have quoted, as far as page 82 of the *Rájávaliya* there are omissions and transpositions of events from their proper chronological order. The events of the years 1536–7, as here recorded by Couto and Barros, are entirely passed over by the Siṉhalese chronicle.)

[2] The words "to Columbo" (which Lavanha inserts in taking over this sentence from Couto—see p. 77) appear to have been omitted here by an oversight.

[3] I cannot find when he was appointed to these offices. Since the demolition of the fortress at Columbo in 1524 (see *supra*, p. 55), the safeguarding of Portuguese interests in Ceylon had devolved upon the factor. Nuno Freire seems to have been succeeded as factor shortly after this by Manuel de Queirós and Pero Vaz Travassos (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 221, 227, 228, and *infra*, V. v. viii., pp. 105, note [1], and 107, note [1]).

[4] *Cf. Rájáv.* 79.

[5] This is, without doubt, the Sallappu Árachchi of the *Rájávaliya* (77), who in 1540 went with the embassy to Portugal (see *infra*, p. 118, note [7]).

By this affair Madune king of Ceitavaca was so exasperated against his brother, that after the Malavares had returned, on his informing them that he was determined to make war on his brother the king of Cota, they told him to send and ask succour of the Çamorim, and said that when the latter had sent it to him, he would have little trouble with that business, offering him their services for setting forward his ambassadors. Madune thereupon at once dispatched them with persons of rank, whom he selected for that purpose, by whom he sent costly articles to the Çamorim and for his ministers, asking him for a good armada, the expenses of which he would pay entirely to his satisfaction.

These ambassadors the Çamorim received well; and persuaded by the Moors, and mastered by self-interest, he ordered to collect the ships that had gone out, and to fit out others with all speed, and made up the number of forty-five, in which he ordered to embark two thousand men, and made captain of this armada Ali Abrahem Marcá[1], a Moor who was a great pirate and a bold knight. This armada reached Columbo at the beginning of the past October; and as Madune was already prepared with large armies, the Moors having joined him, they moved against the city of Cota, laying siege to it all round.

Description of the City of Cota[2].

This city is situated in the midst of a beautiful lake, and has one single narrow pass by which it is entered, which by order of Nuno Freire had been fortified with a bastion and *tranqueiras*, in which was placed the artillery that they had captured from the *paráos*; and around the city they arranged many boats to prevent the enemy if they sought to cross over to it, either in others or in *jangadas*[3].

And the first thing that the king did was to dispatch a very urgent message to the governor[4], in which he told him of the risk and danger in which he was, begging him to send him succour, since he was vassal to the king of Portugal; and another to Martim Afonso de Sousa, who he learnt was in Cochim,

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[1] According to Zínuddín (Lopes 63) this man was brother to Cunhale, of whom we shall hear later on (see *infra*, p. 91 *et seq.*).

[2] Apparently Couto intended to give here a detailed description of the city of Cota, but, for some unexplained reason, omitted to do so. He has partially supplied this omission in VII. x. xiv. (pp. 216–7 *infra*).

[3] Rafts, from Tam. *saṅgāḍam* (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Jangar").

[4] Nuno da Cunha.

in which he begged him, since he had the armada at hand, to come and deliver him from the power of those enemies. Madune continued the siege, delivering great assaults, and attempting the passes many times, which were valorously defended against him, the few Portuguese that there were being those that took part in all the dangers, where they performed astonishing feats, all being wounded many times, whom the king at once aided, and commanded to be tended like his own person, having in them the chief refuge of his defence : and thus the siege went dragging on for the space of three months, during which there were encounters worthy of record.

The king's envoy, who went with the message to the governor, arrived at Cochim, where he found the captain-major of the sea, Martim Afonso de Sousa, to whom he gave the letters from the king and from Nuno Freire representing to him the strait in which the king was. The captain-major seeing that it was an imperative obligation to succour that king, and also being vainglorious over the great victory of Repelim [1], got ready with all speed, and leaving the galleys on the coast of Malavar, with the foists rounded Cape Comorim when it was now February. Thence he ran along the coast as far as the shoals of Manar (which are also called those of Chilao), and crossed over to the other side ; and making a straight course for the coast of Ceilaõ, he arrived at Columbo. The Malavares, as soon as our armada left Cochim, were at once advised thereof, and fearing to lose their ships, they took leave of Madune, and embarking in them forthwith crossed over to the opposite coast. Madune likewise raised the siege, and sent to make terms with his brother, before the armada should arrive.

When Martim Afonso de Sousa arrived at Columbo, it was some ten days previously that the Malavares had departed, and there he learnt that the brothers were already reconciled and friends ; and now that he was there, he resolved to have an interview with the king, and set out for Cota, where he received him very well ; and Martim Afonso encouraged him and emboldened him against his brother, telling him that at any time that he should need it he would most certainly have the succour of the Portuguese. The king was much gratified at beholding that love and diligence with which the Portuguese hastened to aid him in his affairs, exchanging with the captain-major grand speeches and compliments, giving them stuffs and trinkets, both to him and to the captains of his company.

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[1] This refers to the defeat of the rája of Eḍḍapalli (Repelim) and the sack of his city by the Portuguese, as described in V. I. iv.

Martim Afonso de Sousa seeing that there was nothing else for him to do there took leave of the king, and went over to the opposite coast, and in a few days reached Malavar, where he received the news that the *paráos* had not yet returned, wherefore he set himself to wait for their return, sending out his spies to look for them[1].

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Barros.

Dec. IV., Bk. vii., Chap. xxii.

How Madune Pandar, king of Ceitavaca, with the aid of an armada of Malavares besieged the king Boenegobago his brother in the city of Cota, and Martim Afonso went to succour him, and fought with the armada, and defeated it.

The affairs of Ceilam did not allow Martim Afonso de Sousa much time in Cochij[2], because Madune Pandar king of Ceitavaca persevering in his designs, and continuing in his pretension to the rule of the whole island of Ceilam (as we have said above[3]), there happened to go in August of this year of 1536 seven *paráos* of Malavares to Columbo, at the time that Nuno Freire de Andrade, *alcaide mór* and factor of that port, was in the city of Cota with seven or eight Portuguese[4]. The Moors of the *paráos* sent to request the king Boenegobago Pandar to send

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[1] Shortly afterwards, having received news that the Moorish fleet was at Mangalor, Martim Affonso went out with his armada, met the fleet at sea, and totally defeated it, sinking some ships and driving others aground with the loss of twelve hundred Moors.

[2] In the previous chapter Barros (or Lavanha) has described the defeat of the Calicut armada under Cutiale Marcar by Martim Affonso de Sousa, who afterwards went (in May 1536) to Cochin to "winter."

[3] The reference is to IV. ii. vii., where Barros says nothing of Máyádunné's designs, but where there is a long footnote, appended by the "editor" of Barros's Fourth Decade, João Baptista Lavanha, embodying information from Couto. This proves that the words in parentheses are one of the interpolations of that impudent forger.

[4] The foregoing words, from "there happened" to "Portuguese," have, it will be noticed, been "conveyed" bodily from Couto by Lavanha. In fact, the whole narrative is stolen from Couto's Fifth Decade, a word altered here and there, and this paraphrase palmed off by the imposter as the work of the great Portuguese historian.

them forthwith those Portuguese. The king, resenting so great an impertinence, determined to chastise it, of which he told Nuno Freire, who because it concerned him begged of the king that expedition, and he granted it to him, and six hundred men with Samlupur *arache* their captain to accompany him. Nuno Freire set out at night[1] with them and the eight Portuguese, and at dawn reached Columbo, where taking the Malavares on land unawares he defeated them, killed many, and of those that were able to escape, some betook themselves into the jungles, and went to stay at Ceitavaca, and others threw themselves into the sea, and took refuge in three *paráos*, leaving the other four in the possession of our people.

Madune Pandar, mortified at the result, received and lodged the Malavares who had fled to Ceitavaca, who, becoming acquainted with his designs, advised him to send and ask succour of the Çamorim, whereby he would easily attain his object, and they offered to set forward and accompany his ambassadors. Madune approved of the counsel, selected from amongst his followers the ambassadors, and at once dispatched them with a costly present for the Çamorij, and articles for his ministers, asking him for a good armada, the expense of which he would pay liberally.

The Çamorij received Madune's ambassadors well, and persuaded by the Moors, and mastered by self-interest, he ordered to collect forthwith the ships that had gone out, and to fit out others, and with all speed he got ready an armada of forty-five ships, in which he ordered to embark two thousand men, and as captain of it Ali Abrahem Marcá, a Moor who was a great pirate and a bold knight. This armada reached Columbo at the beginning of October; and as Madune was already in the field with a large army, the Moors having joined him, they all proceeded to lay siege to the city of Cota.

This city is situated in the midst of a large lake, and is joined to the land by a narrow pass by which it is entered. This pass Nuno Freire fortified with a bastion and *tranqueira*, in which he placed the artillery that had been captured in the four *paráos* of the Malavares, and arranged that there should be boats to defend the passage against the enemy if they should attempt it in others or in *jangadas*.

The king Boenegobago at once dispatched a messenger to the governor, begging him to send and succour him in that

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[1] Lavanha, not knowing how close Kóṭṭé was to Columbo, probably thought Couto's "daybreak watch" to be an error, so made the expedition start "at night."

strait in which he was, since he was vassal to the king of Portugal; and he sent another to Martim Afonso de Sousa, who he learnt was in Cochij, praying him that with the armada victorious from the emprise of Repelim he would come and deliver him from those common enemies. Madune meanwhile continued the siege, delivering great assaults, and attempting the passes many times, which were defended against him with much valour, the few Portuguese that were there being the first in dangers, from which they emerged many times wounded, whom the king commanded to tend with great care, because in them he had his greatest defence, and thus the siege went dragging on for the space of three months.

The envoy who went to the governor arrived at Cochij, where he found Martim Afonso de Sousa, to whom he gave the letter from the king and another from Nuno Freire, and represented the strait in which the king was. Martim Afonso, recognizing the obligation that lay upon him of succouring that king, vassal of the crown of Portugal, got ready with diligence; and leaving the galleys of his armada on the coast of Malavar in guard of it, with the foists rounded Cape Comorij, having passed which, and running along the coast as far as the shoals of Manar, from them crossed over to Ceilam, and arrived at Columbo, whence when he arrived the Malavares were already gone; because having advice of the departure from Cochij of our armada, and fearing to lose their ships, they took leave of Madune Pandar, and having embarked, went over to the opposite coast, and Madune likewise raised the siege of the city before Martim Afonso should arrive, and made terms with the king his brother.

Martim Afonso, seeing that without his drawing the sword the enemy had raised the siege against the king, thought it proper and a due courtesy to visit him: wherefore disembarking he set out for Cota, where the king received him with great demonstrations of gratitude for that succour. Martim Afonso offered it to him on behalf of the king of Portugal and of his governor of India whenever he should need it, at which the king was much gratified, understanding how certain was the favour of the Portuguese, and recognizing the willingness and diligence with which they had hastened to his defence.

Martim Afonso took leave of the king, having no occasion for further detention there, and having embarked went over to the opposite coast, and in a few days reached Malavar, where he learnt that the *paráos* of Ali Abrahem had not yet returned ......

DEC. V., BK. I., CHAP. vii.

Of the various opinions that have existed amongst geographers as to what was the Tapobrana of Ptolemy ; and of the reasons that we give for its being this island of Ceilaõ ; and of the names that its cinnamon bears amongst all nations[1].

Before we enter upon other matters, now that we are occupied with the affairs of Ceilaõ, and have shown the source of its population, and the origin of its kings, and the names that the natives gave to it, it will be right that we also state those that it bears amongst strangers, and that we show that it is the true Tapobrana of Ptolemy, regarding which there has been such confusion amongst geographers, and the reasons why all of them thought this to be the island of Çamatra[2].

Pliny, speaking of Tapobrana[3], says that is six[4] thousand stadia in length and five thousand in breadth, and that it was in a way considered a new world, and that it was discovered in the time of the emperor Claudius, and that a king of that island sent ambassadors to him, and that the ships that used to go there were not directed or steered by the stars, because they did not see the poles.

Strabo speaking of Tapobrana makes it of a like size as does Pliny[5].

Onesicritus[6], a captain of Alexander the Great's, who sailed this coast of India, says that Tapobrana is of five thousand stadia, without stating whether it is in breadth or in length, and that it was separated from the people of the Prasis on the Ganges by a sail of twenty days[7] ; and that between it and India there were many other islands, but that this more than all others lay to the south.

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[1] On Ceylon as known to the Greeks and Romans see Ten. i. pt. v. chap. i., Suckl. i. chap. ix., but especially the excellent volumes of J. W. McCrindle, *Anc. Ind. as desc. in Class. Lit.* Valentyn (*Ceylon* 14–8) has, without the slightest acknowledgment, taken over this whole chapter from Couto, and, in doing so, has made some absurd blunders, which I shall point out below.

[2] I do not consider that Couto in what follows proves that Ceylon was the Taprobane of the ancients, nor do I regard the question as yet solved (perhaps it never will be). I would merely refer to the further references to the subject in the documents given in the appendices to my paper on "The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506."

[3] See McCrindle's *Anc. Ind.* 102–6.

[4] Read "seven."

[5] This is not quite correct (see *Anc. Ind.* 20, 96).

[6] See *Anc. Ind.* 20.

[7] Onesikritos does not mention the Prasians.

Arrian[1], a Greek author, in the treatise that he made on the navigation of India, says that anyone setting out from the coast of Camora and Poduca would arrive at an island that lay to the west called Pallesimonda, and by the ancients Tapobrana, which all considered a new world, and in his time was well known, and that in it were bred the largest and best elephants of all those in India[2].

Eratosthenes[3], a Greek author, says that the island of Tapobrana lies in the Eoan Sea between the east and west on the way to India twenty days' sail from Persia.

Ptolemy[4] in his tables puts the island of Tapobrana on the coast of India opposite to the Comori Promontorium, which lies in thirteen and a half degrees north (and Pliny[5] calls it Colaicum Promontorium), and says[6] that before his days it was called Simonda, but that in his time it was known by the name of Salica, and its natives by that of Salim, and that it had a length of nine hundred and thirty miles, which is equal to two hundred and ten leagues of ours, and that in it was produced much rice, honey, ginger, beryl, jacinth, and many other kinds of stones and metals that are found only in the island of Ceilaõ.

Let us turn to the geographers who make this Tapobrana to be the island of Çamatra.

Micer Pogio[7], a Florentine, secretary to the pope, a learned man, who by command of the holy pontiff wrote a description of the journey that Nicoláo de Conti[8], a Venetian, made by land through the whole of India to Cathay, says in it that this Venetian arrived at Çamatra anciently Tapobrana.

Maximilan Transilvanus, also a learned man, and secretary to an emperor, in a letter that he wrote to the cardinal of

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[1] The reference is to the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, by an unknown author, but formerly attributed to Arrian. See McCrindle's *Com. and Nav. of the Eryth. Sea* 141, 144.

[2] The passage in the *Periplus* does not mention elephants.

[3] I can find no such statement as follows in the quotation from Eratosthenes in McCrindle's *Anc. Ind.* Couto repeats the statement further on.

[4] See Ptolemy's map of India in McCrindle's *Anc. Ind. as desc. by Ptol.*

[5] See McCrindle's *Anc. Ind.* 104.

[6] See McCrindle's *Anc. Ind. as desc. by Ptol.* 247.

[7] Val. has "Michael [!] Poggius."

[8] See translation in *Ind. in the Fift. Cent.* *Cf.* also Yule's *Marco Polo* (3rd ed.) ii. 295.

Salzburg[1], in which he gave him an account of the first voyages that the Portuguese made to India, says that they arrived at the shores of Calicut, and thence at Çamatra, which anciently was called Tapobrana.

Benedeto Bordone in his *Insulario*[2] says that the island of Madagascar (which is that of Saõ Lourenço) lay to the west of Ceilaõ one thousand three hundred miles and to the south of Tapobrana one thousand eight hundred; and many other geographers who write in the same way, whom we omit, to avoid prolixities.

Our great Joaõ de Barros alone, a man most learned in geography, speaking in his Decades of the island of Ceilaõ[3], says that it is the Tapobrana of Ptolemy, as he proved more fully in his *Tables of Geography*, which after his death disappeared, which was a very serious loss. And although his authority were enough as sufficient proof of Ceilaõ's being Tapobrana, and Ptolemy's putting it on the hither side of the Ganges on the coast of India (which cannot be understood of Çamatra, which lies so far beyond the Ganges), nevertheless we shall examine the ancient geographers whom we have named, and shall show how all speak of Ceilaõ, and not of Çamatra.

Pliny[4] says that Tapobrana is six thousand stadia in length, which is two hundred and ten leagues, and that in the time of the emperor Claudius it was discovered by a freedman of Annius Plocamus, who going along Arabia in a ship was caught by the westerly gales, and in fifteen days passed beyond Carmania, and arrived at Tapobrana, and that the king of that place received him very well, and he gave him some coins which he had brought of those that were current in Rome, which had the likeness of the emperor engraved on them; and that the king sent with him his ambassadors to visit that emperor.

By all these facts we consider it to be proved that this is the island of Ceilaõ. As to the size of the island, it is the same that Ptolemy[5] gives to it, because in his tables it extends as far as to pass the equator two degrees to the south, by which

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[1] *De Mollucis insulis, itemque aliis pluribus mirandis, quæ novissima Castellanorum nauigatio sereniss. Imperatoris Caroli V. auspicio suspecta, nuper inuenit : Maximiliani Transylvani epistola ad Reverendiss. Cardinalem Saltzburgensem lectu per quam jucunda.* Coloniæ, ... anno .... MDXXIII. mense Ianuario. (Often reprinted.)

[2] *Isolario .... nel qual si ragiona di tutte l'Isole del mondo ....* Vinegia, 1534 (and later editions).

[3] See *supra*, III. II. i. (p. 29 *et seq.*).

[4] See McCrindle's *Anc. Ind.* 120 ff.

[5] See McCrindle's *Anc. Ind. as desc. by Ptol.* 247 ff.

it appears that in his time it had the same magnitude; and the natives affirm, and hold it to be fully confirmed by their writings, that formerly this island was so large, that it joined on to the islands of Maldiva, and that in course of time the sea consumed it at that part, covering it in the manner in which it is seen today; and that the highest parts remained separated into many islands, as they lie today stretching in a line in the rumb that seamen call north-west and south-east, in which they assert that there are more than thirty thousand islands. And already in the time of the same Ptolemy, who lived in the year of our Lord 143, it appears that the sea had begun to cause this devastation: because he says that around Tapobrana there were one thousand three hundred and seventy-eight islands. And with regard to the freedman of Annius being carried by the winds from Arabia in fifteen days to Tapobrana, it is very clear that Ceilaõ is spoken of, which lies five hundred leagues from the coast of Arabia, which is the most that can be sailed in fifteen days. And this island lies on the coast of India beyond Carmania; and Çamatra is outside the whole of India, and many leagues beyond the Ganges; and simply to go from Ceilaõ to Çamatra other fifteen days with a stern wind are needed.

And in addition to all these proofs we find today in Ceilaõ vestiges of Roman buildings, which shows that they formerly had communication with that island. And we may even say more, that in it were found the same coins that this freedman took, when Joaõ de Mello de Saõ Payo was captain of Manar in Ceilaõ, in the year of our Lord 1574 or 1575[1], in excavating some buildings that stand on the other side in the territories that they call Mantota, where even today there appear here and there very large ruins of Roman masonry work; and whilst some workmen were engaged in taking out stone, they came upon the lowest part of a piece of foundation, and on turning it over they found an iron chain of such strange fashion that there was not in the whole of India a craftsman who would undertake to make another like it. And they also found two copper coins, one quite worn, and another of base gold, likewise worn on one side, and on the other could still be made out the figure of a man, from the breast upwards, with a piece of lettering around worn away in some parts, but there could still be made out clearly at the beginning this letter C, the following ones being worn away, and the lettering

[1] This must, I think, be an error for "1584 or 1585," since João de Mello was captain of Maṉṉár in 1587–8 (see *infra*, pp. 305, 361), and it is improbable that he had held the post for so long a period.

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continued around, in which could be seen these other letters RMN℞. This chain and the medals were taken to Joaõ de Mello, who prized them much, and took them to the kingdom to give them to the king, and was lost at sea in the year 1590, when he went in the ship *Saõ Bernardo* in the company of Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, who had terminated his governorship of India and sailed in the ship *Bom Jesus*[1]. And it is possible that these coins were some of those that the freedman of Annius brought there, and that during the six months that he was in that island he set about those buildings in the Roman style, and that he placed in the foundations those coins (a thing very common in the whole of Europe). And after considering the letters on the coin, and having read many ancient letterings, it seems to us that this letter C is the first of the name of Claudius ; and that the following ones, which were already worn away, must have read *Imperator*, because the others RMN℞ clearly stand for *Romanorum*[2].

Another coin like this one was found in the Spanish Indies, which was discovered by Pedro Colon (according to what is stated by Lucius Marinæus Siculus in his book *De las Cosas Memorables de España*, in the life of the Catholic kings[3]) when other foundations like these were being excavated, which bore the likeness of Cæsar Augustus. This coin Dom Joaõ Rufo, archbishop of Cuenca, had, and sent it to the supreme pontiff, from which Lucius Marinæus[4] inferred that the Romans formerly sailed to those parts.

And returning to our subject, if it is true, as Hector de Laguna[5] says, that in the time of Pope Paul was found a stick

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[1] See *infra*, p. 305, note [5]. Valentyn alters the date to 1591 (it was really 1592), and for *Bom Jesus* has " Ban Tehis " !

[2] Of course there is not a trace of Roman buildings in Ceylon ; and though many Roman coins have been found in various parts of the island, there is no proof that a single Roman ever landed on its shores. See, on the above, my note in the R. A. S. Jl., n. s., 1905, p. 156. Valentyn makes nonsense of Couto's argument in the last clause, by substituting " Keyser " for " Imperator," and " der Romeynen " for " Romanorum."

[3] *Obra compuesta por L. Marineo ...... de las cosas memorables de España.* Alcala de Henares, 1539.

[4] Valentyn has " Maximus."

[5] For " Hector " read " Andres." Couto seems to have evolved the erroneous name in copying from Garcia da Orta, who throughout his work refers to Laguna as " Tordelaguna," an error which his friend Dines Bosque points out to him in the 58th *Coloquio* (see G. da Orta i. 210, ii. 378–9). The reference here is to Dr. Andres de Laguna's translation of Dioscorides, entitled *Pedacio Dioscorides Anazarbeo, acerca de la*

of cinnamon (which was preserved in Rome as a precious object), the which, as appeared from a lettering that it bore, had been there from the time of the emperor Arcadius, son of Theodosius, who succeeded to the empire in the year of our Lord 397, which was one hundred and twenty-six years after Claudius, who ruled in 271, it might well be that it was brought as a present by those ambassadors who came with the freedman.

And leaving Pliny let us come to Onesicritus. The latter says[1] that Tapobrana was of five thousand stadia, and that Brasis on the Ganges was separated from it by a sail of twenty days; and that between India and it there were many islands, but that it lay more than all others to the south. As to the size, he agrees with Ptolemy. In regard to its being separated from the Ganges by a space of twenty days' journey, and there being between it and India many islands, this shows clearly that he spoke of Ceilaõ, because it is the same days' journey from the Ganges, and lies to the south of the whole coast of India, and the many islands that he refers to are those of Mamale[2], and all the others, of which Ptolemy makes mention, and Çamatra lies to the east of India very distant from it.

Arrian[3], the Greek author, in saying that anyone setting out from the coast of Comara and Poduca for the west would arrive at Tapobrana, it is very evident speaks of Ceilaõ: because Ptolemy in his tables places Comara and Poduca in 14½ degrees on the opposite coast of India on the inner side of the Promontorium Comori, which appears to be Saõ Thome or Negapataõ: because anyone who sets out from that coast to reach Ceilaõ has to sail to the west, and for Çamatra to the east; and it is well known that the island of Ceilaõ breeds the largest and best elephants of all those in India, as the

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Materia Medicinal, &c., Salamanaca, 1566, p. 23, where, in a note to cap. xiii., *Del Cinamomo*, Laguna says that when he was in Rome he was presented by his friend Master Dr. Gilberto with a fragment of the reddish kind of cinnamon called *montana*, which had by mere chance been found, together with other things, with the body of Maria, sister of Arcadius and Honorius, and wife of Stilicon, who had been interred in the Vatican more than 1,400 years before, her tomb having been discovered during the pontificate of Paul III. (1534–49). Laguna, however, says nothing about a "lettering" on the "stick" (as Couto calls it) of cinnamon, nor does he say how the tomb was identified. Valentyn, in taking over Couto's remarks, creates a new error by turning Laguna into "Lagena."

[1] See *supra*, page 80, notes [6] and [7].

[2] The Laccadives (see *supra*, page 21, note [2]).

[3] See *supra*, page 81, notes [1] and [2]).

same Arrian says. And so much so is this, that all others recognize in them such superiority, that on any of them seeing one from Ceilaõ, immediately it runs away from it as if mad, of which we have experience every day in this city of Goa among those that the king employs in his dockyard from different countries[1].

Eratosthenes[2], the Greek author, says that Tapobrana lies in the Eoan Sea between the east and the west, separated by a twenty days' sail from Persia, at the commencement of India. This writer speaks even more clearly of Ceilaõ, which lies in eight degrees north between east and west; and however much wind the ship may have, she will not do more, starting from the mouth of the Persian Gulf, than arrive in twenty days at Ceilaõ, which is five hundred leagues[3]; and Çamatra is not in the Eoan Sea, but below the equator, and hence we have proved Ceilaõ to be Tapobrana.

Let us now come to the modern geographers who make it Çamatra. All of these looking for this island of Tapobrana below the equator, where Ptolemy places it (because in his time, as we have said, it extended two degrees to the south side), and running along the whole coast of India as far as beyond the Ganges, finding no other but Çamatra, without further consideration made it Tapobrana; as in like manner without it they made the river Indus fall into the Gulf of Cambaya, which is an error, and whence it arose we shall with the divine favour show further on[4]. And so Benedeto Bordone commenting on that passage in Pliny speaking of Tapobrana, where he says "*Septentrion non cernitur*," in the annotation that he makes upon it reprehends Pliny for saying that in it the star of the arctic pole was not seen: because he says that those that live in Tapobrana in the part towards the Promontorium Colaicum see this pole at an elevation of thirteen degrees. and that conformably to the altitudes in which those of that island live, so will they see its elevation; but that those who lived below the equator could see neither one pole nor the other, in which he contradicts himself, because he makes Çamatra Tapobrana; and the equator cuts this island of

[1] Valentyn here coolly transfers to the time when he wrote (*circa* 1720) Couto's personal experience of over 120 years earlier! This fable of the recognition by other elephants of the superiority of those from Ceylon is met with in many writers. I do not know who originated it.

[2] See *supra*, page 81, note [3].

[3] Valentyn credits all this to Eratosthenes, and has "a hard wind," "a light ship," and "the N. of the strait of Persia."

[4] This promise (which Valentyn, parrot-wise, also makes!) Couto appears not to have fulfilled.

Çamatra in the middle, and it does not extend on one side and the other towards the poles more than five degrees: whereby those that live at the point of Daya, which is the most northerly, do not see that star at an elevation of more than five degrees; and in the same manner those that live at the other end in the direction of the arctic scarcely get a glimpse of it: which is contrariwise in Ceilaõ, because those that live at the point of Jafanapataõ see the arctic pole at an elevation of eight and a half degrees; and those that dwell at the point of Gale (which is the most southerly) see it at an elevation of five. Hence it is clearly seen that the latter is Tapobrana, which at that time extended to two degrees south; and that the Colaicum Promontorium of Pliny and the Comori of Ptolemy is to be found in Cape Comorim we hold as indubitable: because at that time, and many years afterwards, the kingdom of Coulaõ was the greatest in the whole of Malavar, and extended to about the shoals of Chiláo[1]; and as that Cape Comorim belonged to that kingdom, and is one of the famous ones of the world, it was denominated by Pliny *Colaicum Promontorium*, as much as to say, "the promontory of Coulaõ," or "of the kingdom of Coulaõ." And Ptolemy's calling it Cori Promontorium may well be from the town of Titi Cori, which lies beyond it, and which at that time would be an important place and frequented by strangers, wherefore Ptolemy gave that cape its name.[2] And for this reason, and for others that we omit, it appears to us that this island of Ceilaõ is that of Jambulus[3], of which Diodorus Siculus[4] makes mention at the end of the second book of the abbreviation of his history, which Baptista Ramnusio and others make Çamatra.

And it has given us no little trouble[5] trying to find whence this name of Tapobrana had its beginning and origin, which we have turned over in our mind many times: because in the whole island of Ceilaõ there is not a port, bay, city, town, promontory, spring, or river, that bears any resemblance to

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[1] *Cf.* Barb. 157 *et seq.*

[2] Like most of Couto's etymological explanations of place-names, the above are merely *pour rire*.

[3] Here Valentyn has met the deserved fate of literary pirates. Mistaking his original, he has made himself ridiculous by saying "it appears to us that this island of Ceylon is also *the same as Sambola* [*sic*]," &c.! He evidently thought the writer Iambulus was an island!

[4] See McCrindle's *Anc. Ind.* 204.

[5] Valentyn is not ashamed of deliberately lying, by taking over these words.

this name, neither in its chronicles[1], nor in those of the Canarás, nor in any language of India, has it any signification or is it understood, wherefore it seems to us that it is a Greek name given by Ptolemy, which was intended to signify some greatness or peculiarity of that island[2]; because moreover the name of Ceilaõ was given from those shoals on which the Chins were wrecked near that island, which became so famous thenceforward, that the island was then known not by its proper name, but by that of the shoals: because as the Persians and Arabs sailed to that island, and went in fear of those shoals, they always bore them in their thoughts, saying that they were going to Cinlaó, or that they had come from Cinlaó, that is to say, that they were going to or coming from the shoals of the Chins: and thus, the letters becoming changed in course of time, that island continued being called Ceilaõ[3].

And because on every occasion that offers itself we[4] seek to show the great corruption that time has caused in all the proper names of cities, kingdoms, rivers, mountains, simples, drugs, and other things in these parts, we wish to begin at once here, whilst we are still in this island, and tell all the names of its cinnamon, both those that were given to it by the Greeks, Latins, Persians, and Arabs, and those that it has among all the nations of the East, and we shall show the corruption that time has brought therein, which is the cause of there being amongst all the physicians great confusion.

Cinnamon[5] in this island, where grows the best in all the East, is called *corundo potra*, which means "tree of bark"[6]. The Malavares, where the worst and coarsest grows, call it *caroa potu*, which is the same as "tree of bark"[7]: because the bark, which the Chingallas call *corundo*, the Malavares term *caróa*; the Arabs call it *carfa*[8]. This name is current in

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[1] *Cf.* V. I. v. (p. 62).

[2] Couto may be excused for knowing nothing of the name Tambapanni.

[3] *Cf.* Barros III. II. i. (p. 31).

[4] Here again Valentyn takes the credit to himself.

[5] Compare what follows with Garcia da Orta's fifteenth *Coloquio*, and the notes thereon by the Conde de Ficalho, who justly thinks Couto has appropriated from his compatriot.

[6] The explanation is, of course, wrong, *kurun̆du-potta* meaning "cinnamon bark." G. da Orta has *cuurdo*.

[7] Tam. *kaṛuvāppaṭṭai* = "cinnamon bark." G. da Orta has *cameá*, an evident misprint for *caruá*.

[8] Arabic *kirfat*.

corrupted form amongst our physicians, because some call it *quirfe*, others *quirfa*. The Persians name it *darcin*, which means "wood of China": because as the Chins were the first who carried to the Strait of Persia the drugs, stuffs, and wares of the East, and from there through the hands of the Persians all passed to Europe, by the names that they gave them there these things were known, and not by their proper ones which they bore in their own countries. Serapion[1] interprets this *darcin*, and says that it means "tree of China," because he thought that they grew in that province, owing to finding cinnamon in the hands of the Chins, as we have said. After the same manner Arrian[2] was deceived in saying that cassia and *zinguir*, which were certain varieties of cinnamon, grew in some places of the Troglodyte, and that thence the merchants carried them to Greece.

Pliny[3] fell into the same error, saying that cinnamon grew in Ethiopia near the Troglodyte, and that that part through which the equator ran was called by the ancient authors *cinamomi fera*, which means "country that produces cinnamon," which must have originated from this cinnamon's having reached his hands by way of the Red Sea by means of the Arab merchants who lived in that part of the Troglodyte, and not asking in Greece where this drug grew, it was thought that it was produced in the country of the Arabs who brought it thither: as also some ancient writers, because they saw cinnamon come by way of Aleppo, called it *cinamomo alipitino*. And because of this confusion we do not know today what kinds of spiceries and scents are *duaca*, *mocroto*, *magla*, and *asiplij*, of which Arrian makes mention[4], who says that they grow in Arabia and Ethopia; nor the *nicato*, *gabalio*, and *tarro*, which Pliny[5] named as scents of Arabia, whence we know of nothing but incense, storax, and myrrh, which possibly may be those of Pliny; nor in the whole of Ethiopia was there any drug but ginger, and this very bad, and only in the kingdom of Damute.

And returning to the names of cinnamon, the Malays call it *caio manis*, which in their language means "sweet wood," which is the *caisman* or *caesmanis* of the Greeks: because it

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[1] *Liber Serapionis aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus.* Venice. 1479 (and later editions).

[2] The reference seems to be to the *Periplus* (see McCrindle's ed. 62).

[3] I cannot find any statement, such as is here attributed to Pliny, in McCrindle's *Anc. Ind.*

[4] See McCrindle's *Erythr. Sea* 15 ff.

[5] I cannot find such names in McCrindle's *Anc. Ind.*

appears that it also came to them with this Malay name, and they corrupted it, the Greeks also calling it *cassia lignea*, a name that we have found among none of the nations of the East, having inquired well through all the physicians. And venturing our opinion, it seems to us that it should be *cais lignea*, which is the same as "wood of Cais": because anciently, before the kingdom of Ormuz was transferred to the island of Gerum, where it is today, the capital and emporium of the whole of that strait was the island of Cais, which lies beyond Ormuz inside the Strait[1]. And as at that time the merchants of Europe stayed in that island, as they do today in that of Ormuz, carrying away the cinnamon that the Chins brought to them, it would seem that in Greece they said that they brought it from the island of Cais, and that on this account they called it *cais lignea*[2]. All this we say subject to correction by the doctors of medicine, having meddled in a matter of their profession; because our intention was no more than to show the corruption that time has wrought in the names of cinnamon[3].

DEC. V., BK. II., CHAP. IV.

Of the wars that there were in Ceilaõ between those two brother-kings: and of the succour that the Çamorim sent to Madune: and of how Martim Afonso de Sousa defeated the armada of the Çamorim in Beadalâ.

So great was the ambition of Madune Pandar, king of Ceitavaca, and so insufferable was it to him to see his brother, although his elder, equal with himself in power, that he did not cease to think of and devise methods of putting him to death, and taking the kingdom from him, in order to obtain the monarchy of the whole of that island. And so he planned many times to give him poison, but without effect, because they caught with it some whom he had for that purpose bribed heavily, who under torture confessed the truth; wherefore thenceforward the king of Cotta took great care of himself, eating only things cooked with his own hands[4]. Madune, seeing that his plots were discovered, determined to take the

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[1] See *Teix.* 236.

[2] Couto's ingenious derivations will not hold water.

[3] On the history of cinnamon see Flückiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacographia*, 2nd ed., London, 1879, pp. 519–23.

[4] As I have said above, the *Rájávaliya* passes over in silence this period of Ceylon history. Couto repeats these accusations against Máyádunné in V. II. x. (p. 99 *infra*).

kingdom from him by war, and once more to avail himself of the Çamorim, dispatching in August past [1637] ambassadors with a sum of money and many jewels as a present to the Çamorim, sending to ask him for a large armada, for which he sent the expenses, in order to aid him in that enterprise, offering him some sea-ports in that island.

The Çamorim received these ambassadors favourably, and forthwith sent to all the ports of his kingdom to hire all the vessels there were; and he chose for that expedition three leading Moors, called Paichimarca (whom some wrongly call Patemarca) and his brother Cunhalemarca[1], both natives of Cochim, born and brought up among the Portuguese[2]; and the other was Aly Abrahem[3]. The Çamorim ordered pay to be issued to troops throughout the kingdom, and mustered eight thousand men to make this expedition, giving orders that all the vessels should go and unite at Panane[4], where Paichimarca lived. The armada proceeded to get ready in the rivers, and as soon as the vessels were fit to leave they went to Panane[5]. ......

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...... Martim Afonso de Sousa ...... received this message[6] in Chale[7], and making haste arrived at Cochim, where he disembarked to arrange some matters for proceeding to Ceilaõ in search of the enemy, having already had advice of the route they had taken. ......

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...... Martim Afonso ...... arrived at Cape Comori, where he had speech of some boats that he found there, and learnt that the enemy were making their way inside in order to pass the shoals of Manar. ......

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[1] Barros (or Lavanha) wrongly calls him Cutiale (see p. 99 *infra*). His name was in reality Kuñji 'Ali.

[2] Couto does not say why they became enemies of their former friends.

[3] See *supra*, p. 75.

[4] Ponáni, between Cochin and Calicut.

[5] To get something like a consecutive narrative, the extracts from Barros-Lavanha on pp. 92–4 and 95–8 should be combined with those from Couto on pp. 90–2 and 94–5.

[6] From the captain of Cochin, to say that the Moorish fleet had set out from Ponáni.

[7] An old port of Malabar, on the south side of the Beypur river (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Chalia").

...... Having gained this victory[1], which was one of the famous ones of India, Martim Afonso de Sousa commanded to sack the enemies' quarters, where they found great spoils, ... And among this was captured an umbrella, which the Çamorim was sending to Madune[2]; ......

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Barros.

Dec. IV., Bk. viii., Chap. xii.

Of what Martim Afonso de Sousa, captain-major of the sea, did when going in search of an armada of the king of Calicut's, the captain-major of which was Pate Marcar.

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...... Also on the coast of Callé and Callecaré, which is beyond Cape Comorij, in the fishery of seed-pearl, because of it there was collected there another great number of them[3]; and if the Portuguese had not entered India they would now have been masters of its whole coast, and of Ceilam; ...... And because at this time there flourished greatly a Moor by the name of Pate Marcar[4], who went rowing about those seas in great force, and doing us some injuries, it will be necessary to treat a little of him.

This Moor lived in Cochij, and with two ships that he had carried on a large trade in many wares that he loaded for Cambaia, with *cartazes*[5] of safe conduct from the captains of Cochij. These ships were taken from him by Portuguese, without the *cartazes* that he carried being valid with them. And because he had no restitution for this loss, desiring to recoup himself for it, like an aggrieved man as he was, he transferred himself to Calecut with his household, and became a pirate[6]; whereupon the king of Calecut, seeing

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[1] See *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 213, iv. 205; Whiteway 252–3; Lopes 63–4. The engagement took place in January 1538.

[2] As a token, doubtless, of his recognition of Máyádunné's claim to the kingdom of Ceylon (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Umbrella").

[3] Moors, "the greatest enemies that the Portuguese have in India," of whose widespread dispersion throughout the East Barros (or Lavanha) speaks in the first part of this chapter.

[4] See page 57, note [2].

[5] Passports. On these see Pyr. ii. 206.

[6] On piracy in Portuguese times see Whiteway 47 ff.

that the affairs of Cambaia still occupied us[1], fitted out for him vessels, beside those that he had; and with the help of other wealthy Moors, who wished to injure the Portuguese, he got together an armada of forty-seven rowing vessels, in order to go and help Madune Pandar against his brother the king of Ceilam. With this king the Portuguese were on terms of great friendship, and he paid the king of Portugal the tribute that we have already described in the events of the time of Lopo Soárez, when he governed India, and built a fortress in that island. And as Madune Pandar saw that besides the great power that his brother had, our friendship afforded him great help, because in Columbo, where he resided[2], the Portuguese always had their factory for the cinnamon that came from that island, and moreover knew of the war that we had with the king of Calecut, and that Pate Marcar was at that time going about in force, he sent word to him secretly to help him against his brother; and the compact that they made was, that he desired no more than to remain with the title of king, and free from giving cinnamon to the Portuguese; and that he would give him all his brother's treasure, which was reported to be very great. This obliged the king of Calecut to send thither Pate Marcar with the fleet of forty-seven[3] sail of which we have spoken, in which he carried more than two thousand men[4], with a great number of pieces of artillery, so well prepared in every way, and with such skilful and brave men, that the Turks of the sea of the Levant did not approach them in discipline and fighting spirit.

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At this time Martim Afonso de Sousa, captain-major of the sea, was cruising with forty sail guarding the coast of Malavar. And as the order of guarding it is to make a run to the north as far as Baticalá, and another to the south as far as Coulam, having made a run to the north, when he returned, he learnt that Pate Marcar had sallied forth from Panane with his armada, of which he was captain-major, and had his brother Cutiale Marcar as second in command, and as third Ali Abrahem, a valiant captain of the king of Calecut's, a native of Panane.

Pate Marcar ...... going on captured a vessel of ours that was coming from Ceilam with the cargo of cinnamon for the

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[1] Rather, the affairs of Diu (see Whiteway, *op. cit.*, chap. xi.).

[2] This is doubtless one of Lavanha's blunders. The king, of course, resided at Cota.

[3] Couto says fifty-one. Zínuddín says forty-two galleys.

[4] Couto, as we have seen, says eight thousand.

ships that were to go to the kingdom. The captain and factor of this vessel was Antonio Barreto, who died in the fight, and all our people that were in her[1] ...... Martim Afonso, as the weather was contrary to him, and he learnt that Pate Marcar had not crossed over to Ceilam, determined to go forward until he came across him, and by force of rowing almost under water he ran along the coast until he reached the port of Calle[2] after nightfall, where he slept.

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Couto.

DEC. V., BK. II., CHAP. V.

Of the other things that happened to Martim Afonso de Sousa during the whole of the rest of the summer: and of how he proceeded to Ceilaõ: and of the terms of peace that those kings made.

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...... And Martim Afonso de Sousa, thinking it was his duty to advise the governor of this victory, dispatched Miguel d'Ayala, captain of a *catur*, by whom he wrote to the governor and to the captain of Cochim of the favour that God had done him: and to the king of Cochim he sent the umbrella which the Çamorin was sending to Madune. ......

Having dispatched this *catur*, Martim Afonso de Sousa at once got ready and embarked to go to Ceilaõ to have an interview with that king, taking the best of the enemy's vessels, with which he recruited his armada, and the rest he sent to Cochim, and thus he went, already at the end of February [1538], towards the shoals, which he crossed very well to Manar, and from there along the coast he went to Columbo. And we shall leave him for a little, as it is necessary for us to continue with Miguel d'Ayala, who had gone with the message to Goa.

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[1] Correa also mentions this (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 212).

[2] Either Cael (Káyalpaṭṭanam) or Callecare (Kílakarai).

And returning to Martim Afonso de Sousa, who was on his way to Ceilaõ, in a few days he arrived with all his armada at the port of Columbo, and there disembarked, and with all his troops arranged in order marched for Cota, in order to have an interview with that king, who received him with great honour; finding him already relieved of anxiety and at peace with his brother; because as soon as he learnt of the defeat of Paichi Marca, and of the arrival of our armada at Columbo, he sent to ask his brother for terms of peace, which he granted him, because he was a good-natured man. For which the king of Cota gave thanks to Martim Afonso de Sousa, appreciating greatly the good faith that the Portuguese kept with him, and how they hastened to help him in his troubles. Martim Afonso de Sousa, seeing that there was nothing for him to do there, treated with the king regarding his coming, and asked him for a loan towards the expenses of the armada and the pay of the soldiers (because he had sent and offered all this). The king granted him this with great alacrity, commanding to give him forty-five thousand cruzados, which were charged as a loan upon the factor of Columbo, in whose receipt-book we saw this money: and both this and much other that he afterwards lent was repaid to him very badly, and even today[1] the greater part is owing to him (the king of Portugal urging strongly upon his governors to make a very prompt payment to him[2]). Martim Afonso de Sousa took leave of the king, who gave stuffs and trinkets both to him and to all the captains, and making sail he returned to Cochim ......

Barros.

Dec. IV., Bk. viii., Chap. xiii.

How Martim Afonso de Sousa with four hundred Portuguese fought Pate Marcar, who was on land with four thousand fighting men, and conquered and defeated him, and captured his armada, with the death of many Moors.

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Whilst Martim Afonso had gone to Cochij to refit, Pate Marcar, thinking that it was by reason of the bad weather, or

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[1] *Circa* 1597.

[2] See *infra*, pp. 165–7.

because he was afraid to fight, went and entered a port that they call Beadalá[1]. The land of this place has the appearance of a thumb, because on the outer side of it, as it were at the first joint, where it joins the hand, stands the town, and on the other and inner side is a large gulf, as one can figure by separating all the other four fingers from this thumb, which form the coast that ends at the point and cape that they call Canhameira[2]. At the end of this thumb on the nail is built a sumptuous heathen temple, Ramanacor by name[3]; and so narrow is the land from this sea outside to that inside the gulf, where stands Beadalá, that Joaõ Fernandez Correa[4], the former captain of the fishery of seed-pearl, which is fished in that latitude, was about to cut through that land. And the advantage of this breach was, that that passage from there to Canhameira is full of many islets, sandbanks, and shoals ; and in windy weather it is very perilous for navigation. And passing through this breach that he intended to make, vessels would enter the great gulf, and with the mainland that lay at the upper part they would be more sheltered, and it would be better sailing, and moreover it would be advantageous to the captains of the fishery who were stationed there[5].

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[1] Védálai on the Rámnád coast (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*, where Yule has confused Payichchi Marakkár with 'Ali Ibrahím).

[2] Point Calimere. This must not be confused with the Canhameira (Conimere) on the Coromandel coast (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Conhameira"). Curiously enough, Yule has omitted to enter Calimere Point in his monumental work. Barros in I. IX. i. mentions the two, as Canhameira and Conhomeira.

[3] Rámanakóvil, the famous temple on the (now) island of Pámban.

[4] In Couto VII. IX. iii. (p. 192) we shall meet with him as captain of Negapatam (in 1560).

[5] The foregoing passage is of great interest in connection with the history of the Pámban channel. According to Hunter's *Imp. Gaz.* xi. 22, "the ancient records preserved in the temple of Rámeswaram relate that in the year 1480 a violent storm breached the isthmus, and that, despite efforts to restore the connection, subsequent storms rendered the breach permanent." I cannot find that the pioneer work of the Portuguese in the cutting of the channel has been noticed by writers on the subject. According to the anonymous writer of *Primor e Honra* (i. 24) the actual cutting of the channel was carried out by João Fernandes Correa in 1549, when the Jesuit father Antonio Criminal was murdered by the natives (see F. y S. II. II. vii. 6).

Pate Marcar, as he intended to cross over from there to the island of Ceilam, which lay in front, set about cleaning his foists, and those that he had already careened with their sterns on shore and the prows in the sea, between which ran a chain of shoals along the thumb that we have figured, in such manner that they could not be reached from the sea outside except by a channel near the town, and he was lodged on land in a palm-grove that ran along the thumb opposite to the *pagode* of Ramanacor, and had a decorated tent and the pomp of a prince in his arrayal, in which he had seven thousand men, because as he was going for that business of placing Madune Pandar in possession of the kingdom of Ceilam, he had mustered all the Moors that lived on that coast, which has a great swarm of them, by reason of the fishery of seed-pearl, as we have said above.

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Among the spoils of this battle was captured an umbrella, which the Camorij was sending to Madune, which Martim Afonso sent as a present to the king of Cochij by Miguel de Aiala, whom he ordered to go on from Cochij to Dio with letters for the governor[1], in which he gave him an account of that victory. Miguel de Aiala arrived at Cochij, and presented the king with the umbrella, which he valued greatly, and much more the news of the victory, which was as much rejoiced over in that city as lamented in Malavar. ......

Dec. IV., Bk. viii., Chap. xiv.

Of other victories that Martim Afonso de Sousa obtained on the coast of Malavar.

Victorious Martim Afonso de Sousa set out from that town of Beadalá, and came to Tutucurij, where was stationed the Portuguese factor of the fishery of seed-pearl, and from there he sent to Cochij the greater part of the vessels that he had

[1] Nuno da Cunha had left Goa for Diu in view of an anticipated siege of the latter place by the Turks.

captured, with the spoil that there was of artillery, munitions, and captives; and he himself with the rest of the troops crossed over to the island of Ceilam, which will be a transit of twenty-four leagues, all shoal, where the fishery is carried on.

Having arrived at the port of Columbo, he found the king with our factor and Portuguese in his fortress, which they call Cota, besieged by Madune Pandar, the king's brother, who was expecting Pate Marcar, and all in great excitement when they saw our sails, thinking them to be his; but having been certified of the truth, they at once abandoned the siege that they had laid, and retired to a mountain range, where Madune fortified himself, fearing that the Portuguese would go to seek him[1]. The king received our people with great pleasure, when he understood that they had come in his aid, which was soon seen in the welcome that he showed to all; and in the reception that he gave to Martim Afonso. The days that he had him there he banqueted him in a new way according to his usage, which was that the table was served by women all crook-backed at the loins, in order that they, thus stooping lower, might appear more humble and reverent in token of courtesy[2]; and thus far does the ambition of a man go, who honors himself by others' ills. Martim Afonso offered his armada to the king, and gave him an account of the destruction of Pate Marcar, and said that for no other purpose had he left Cochij but to relieve him of that trouble in which the siege had placed him. The king, to show the satisfaction that he felt at that action, which Martim Afonso had carried out in order to aid him, gave him stuffs and jewels, and to all the captains, and commanded to give him twenty thousand[3] cruzados in loan, as a help to pay the wages of the soldiers whom he had brought, and with many expressions of his great obligation. Martim Afonso took leave of him, and set out for Cochij, where he arrived, having put such a glorious end to that enterprise.

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[1] According to the *Rájávaliya* (78), it was after his withdrawal from Kóṭṭé in 1539 (see *infra*, p. 105) that Máyádunné retired to Dẹraṇiyagala (see Bell's *Rep. on Kég. Dist.* 60).

[2] Another of Lavanha's fictions.

[3] Since Couto (*supra*, p. 95) says that he saw the receipt for the money, his figure must be accepted as correct.

DEC. V., BK. II., CHAP. X.

Of the things that happened in Ceilaõ: and of how Madune on the death of his brother Reigaõ Pandar seized his kingdom: and of how the king of Cota married his daughter to a prince of the caste of the sun: and what caste this is: and why it is so called.

Madune was much chagrined at the defeat of Paichi Marca, and at the great friendship and favour that his brother, the king of Cota, had with the Portuguese; the which was so insufferable to him, that he was like to die of pure vexation: and he directed his thoughts towards nothing else, but to seek methods of killing his brother, even to bribing those of his inner chamber to give him poison, which they attempted several times, but were found out and executed[1]. Things being in this state, and the king of Cota in fear of his brother, the other brother Reigaõ Pandar[2] died without leaving any sons[3]; and because that kingdom came by right to the king of Cota, Madune went in great haste, and entered into the city of Reigaõ Corle, which was the capital of the kingdom[4], and made himself master of it, and of the treasures of his brother, by this becoming more powerful than the king of Cota. And as the desire of seeing himself ruler of the whole of that island was what inquieted him, he at once resolved to employ his whole strength against his brother as soon as summer set in, and to dispose of that business quickly, before he had another

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[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 90. [2] See *supra*, p. 71.

[3] The *Rájávaḷiya* (79), in a parenthetical paragraph which is out of its place chronologically, says:—"Rayigam Baṇḍára remained in Mápiṭigama, and died there." As this chronicle says nothing of his having any issue, we may take it that Couto's statement is correct.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 73, note [2]. Couto's statement does not, at first sight, seem reconcilable with that of the *Rájávaliya* as given in the previous note, since Mápiṭigama is in Dehigampal kóraḷé of Kẹgalla District, while the city of Rayigama was, presumably, in Rayigam kóraḷé of Kaḷutara District. According to the *Rájávaliya* (78), however, "Rayigam Baṇḍára was brought [by Máyádunné apparently] to Sítávaka and made to reside in Mápiṭigama;" so that it is probable that Máyádunné made himself master of his brother's territory and treasure before the latter's death, and not after it, as Couto leads us to infer. Valentyn, in the version of the *Rájávaliya* of which he gives a translation in his *Ceylon*, says (76): "About this time [1540, which is too late] the king of Reygamme went on a certain day to the village of Mahoe Pitigam, *which is an appanage of Malvane*, fell sick there, and died." I think the words I have italicized are an interpolation by Valentyn, who thought the Mápiṭigama referred to was the one north of the Kẹlani river, between Malvána and Haṇvẹlla.

succour from the Portuguese. And desiring again to avail himself of the Çamorim, he sent him [in May ? 1538] other ambassadors, by whom he sent to ask him for another armada, sending him much money for his expenses. This armada he asked him to send at the beginning of September[1], as it would find him already before Cota. Of this the king was soon advised; and seeing the risks that he was incurring, and that he was without a son and heir, he determined to marry a daughter that he had[2], in order that the sons who might proceed from her should be heirs to that kingdom; and so he chose as his son-in-law a prince who lived in the Seven Corles, called Treava Pandar[3], who is the one that the histories of India corruptly call Tribuli Pandar[4], who through both father and mother sprang from that royal race of the caste of the sun[5], because none could inherit the empire of Ceilaõ except those that came directly from that caste, which the Chingalás hold to be divine, as we shall presently show : and so they will not make their *sumbaias*[6] to or obey a king of another caste, even though they kill them.

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[1] That is, as soon as the south-west monsoon, then on the eve of bursting, had abated, and Ceylon was once more accessible from the west coast of India.

[2] See *supra*, p. 73, note [4]. Valentyn (*Ceylon* 76) says the daughter's name was " Samoedra Dewa, that is, sea goddess " : in which statement there is a double error, since Dewa should be Dewi, and *dévi* in this connection means a princess and not a goddess.

[3] What " Treava " represents, it is difficult to say: perhaps Tiruvar is meant. The person referred to is Vídiye Baṇḍára, who, according to the *Rájávaliya* (79), was the elder son of Samudradéví, daughter of King Taniyavalla, by a Soḷi prince. (For the connection, see table in Bell's *Rep. on Kég. Dist.* 15 ; and regarding Vídiya see *C. P. Gaz.* 572.) Valentyn (*Ceylon* 76) says that King Taniyavalla's son-in-law was " a Malabar king from the lands of Jaffanapatnam."

[4] This is a somewhat curious statement for Couto to make, since he himself always calls Vídiye Baṇḍára by the " corrupt " name. We shall hear a great deal further on of this troublous and " tribulated " prince.

[5] That he belonged to the Súryavaṇsa we may take leave to doubt. By a coincidence the Portuguese almost represents the truth about him, for it says that he was of the " casta do *Sol* " (with which word, of course, Soḷi has no connection).

[6] This word *sumbaia* or *zumbaia* is explained by the Portuguese dictionaries as meaning "a profound reverence," or " a low bow." It seems to represent Sans. *sambhávana*, " worship, honour." The word is not recorded in *Hob.-Job.*, though it is of frequent occurrence in Portuguese and other writers on India.

Whence come the kings of the caste of the sun, and the reason why they are so called.

And that it may not be left to us to give an account of this caste of the sun, we shall tell what they fabulate regarding this, in order to give an honourable beginning to their kings. Their chronicles say (and we heard them chanted by a prince of Ceilaõ[1] in verses after their mode, which an interpreter went on interpreting to us, because all their ancient events have been put into verse, and are chanted at their festivals), that when all the heathens of that part beyond the Ganges, in all that today comprises the kingdoms of Pegú, Tanaçarim, Siaõ, Camboja, and all the rest of that inland region, were living without king, without laws or any polity that would differentiate them from brute beasts, dwelling in dens and caves, eating herbs and roots, without having knowledge of agriculture or of the tilling of fields; and when those natives of Tanaçarim[2] were standing one day in the morning at the rising of the sun viewing its beauty, on its first rays' striking the earth they saw it open of a sudden, and from within it issue forth a very handsome man, dignified in person, of venerable presence, and in all other respects different from all men, to whom there flocked all those that saw him, filled with wonder at that marvel, and with great humility asked him what man he was, and what he wished. To which he replied in the Tanaçarim language that he was the son of the sun and the earth, and that God had sent him to those kingdoms to rule and govern them. The which being heard by all, they threw themselves on the ground and adored him, telling him that they were ready to receive him, follow him, and accept his laws and customs. From there he was conducted and placed in an elevated position; and they yielded him obedience as king, and he began to command and govern them. The first thing that he did was to draw them from the jungle and unite them in civil communities, showing them the method and plan of building houses, and of cultivating the fields; and afterwards gave them mild and gentle laws, whereby they found themselves in comfort, and lived differently from what they had hitherto done. This king reigned many years, and left many sons among whom he divided his realms, among whose descendants they continued more than two thousand years; and all the heirs who succeeded were called *suriavas*, which means, "of the caste of the sun." From these came directly Vigia Raya, who (as we have already said in the fifth chapter of the first book) was banished, to populate

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[1] See *supra*, p. 62, note [3].

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 62, note [4].

that island of Ceilaõ, among whose heirs the rule thereof continued directly, and continues until today[1]; because the king Dom Joaõ, who lives amongst us, and is the true heir of the whole island, proceeds from this caste; and in this island of Ceilaõ alone was it preserved by direct line from heir to heir, which was not the case in the other kingdoms where it began, because all in the process of time came to fall into the hands of tyrants, and it is totally extinguished and destroyed; and in this king Dom Joaõ alone is it preserved today, and in him it will end, as he has no sons or grandsons,—as in truth it has ended[2]. And thus all these kings of Ceilaõ boasted of having sprung from the East. And thus they all acknowledge in them a certain superiority, and send to ask their daughters in order to marry them.

Of this caste came directly this prince whom the king of Cota married to his daughter, although he was disinherited and poor. The nuptials having been celebrated, that king was able, having a son-in-law, to live more at his ease. And being advised of the determination of Madune, they fortified the city of Cota very well, collecting inside it provisions and arms. In this there came Nuno Freire, *alcaide mór* of Columbo, with some Portuguese that he had, to offer him their help, animating the king and encouraging him: assuring him that the whole state of India would be risked to succour and aid him, wherefore he need have fear of nothing; continuing to serve him in the fortification of the city with much diligence, for which the king was much obliged to them. And in this state these matters must remain until we return to them.

DEC. V., BK. v., CHAP. vi.

Of the things that happened at this time in Ceilaõ: and of how Madune began again to make war upon his brother the king of Cota: and of the armada that the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha sent him in succour, ...

It is necessary, in order that we may interweave our history well, for us to touch a little upon Ceilaõ in passing. Madune went on planning in his mind new methods for destroying his

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[1] *Circa* 1597.

[2] The above refers to Dom João Perea Pandar (Dharmapála), who, when Couto wrote, had been living in Columbo under Portuguese protection (and extortion) for over thirty years. The last six words Couto must have added after learning of Dom João's death on 27–28 May 1597 (see *infra*, p. 413).

brother utterly, the which he wished to do by war in order to finally consume him. And so, as soon as Martim Afonso de Sousa went away from that island[1], he began again to solicit the Çamorim for another armada[2], which he prepared for him, once more intrusting that expedition to Pachi Marcá. The king of Cota was soon advised of these preparations, and at once dispatched a message to the governor Nuno da Cunha, begging him to help and support him, since he was a vassal of the king of Portugal's, because he was in great risk of losing that kingdom. This message reached Nuno da Cunha in June past [1538], whereupon he forthwith dispatched *patamares* (which are couriers[3]) by land to Saõ Thome, where dwelt Miguel Ferreira, a much respected knight, and one that knew the affairs of Ceilaõ better than all who up till then had been in India[4]; requesting him by letters to muster all the men and vessels that he could, and go and succour that king, he being there closer at hand; and that all the expenses that he incurred he would repay very promptly. And that in case there were not men and vessels there for that expedition, as soon as the summer[5] set in he was to come to Goa; and he should have them.

These letters were given to Miguel Ferreira, who, fitting out some vessels, as soon as the summer set in left for Goa, because in Saõ Thome there was not the material for that expedition. And making haste, he reached the city of Goa on the day that the viceroy received the news of the flight of the galleys[6]; because although he had left with the intention of getting more vessels and men in Cochim, on arriving at that city, where he found news of the Turks' being before Dio, he thought it more necessary to hasten thither with those vessels that he had brought, than to go to Ceilaõ, because that business could be carried out at any time.

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[1] See *supra*, pp. 95, 98.

[2] See *supra*, p. 100.

[3] See *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Pattamar."

[4] How he obtained this knowledge Couto does not say, and I cannot discover; but he had evidently resided in the island, for in V. v. viii. (p. 105) we find him spoken of as a great friend of the king's. He was a man who had had much and varied experience since the time when, in December 1513, he was sent as ambassador to Sháh Ismáíl of Persia by Albuquerque (see *Com. of Af. Dalb.* iv. 80–1). Couto gives us some personal details regarding him in V. v. viii. (p. 107). At this time he was captain of Coromandel.

[5] That is, the north-east monsoon season, September to April.

[6] The Turkish galleys from before Diu. It was in November 1538 that the viceroy received the news.

The viceroy received Miguel Ferreira very well, because he had already had information regarding him; and seeing that it was necessary to go to the help of Dio, and that he was also forced to succour Ceilaõ, and was about to leave the next day, he brought these matters before the council, and it was resolved that it was very just and necessary to succour that king, in order that the trade of that island should not be lost; and that Miguel Ferreira should be given four hundred men, and vessels for them[1]. This being settled, because Miguel Ferreira could not set out for Ceilaõ before the end of January, he left him in Goa getting ready, granting him all the conditions he asked for.

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DEC. V., BK. v., CHAP. viii.

Of what happened to Miguel Ferreira on his journey to Ceilaõ: and of how he captured the whole armada of the Çamorim: and of the negotiations that he carried on with Madune until Pachi Marcá was killed: ......

Miguel Ferreira, who remained in Goa preparing for the succour of Ceilaõ, as we have related in the fifth chapter of the fifth book, made such haste with the armada, that at the beginning of February [1539] he set sail, and wènt pursuing his journey with fair weather until he had passed Cape Comorim, when he ran along that coast as far as the shoals, which he crossed to the other side[2]. In Manar he learnt that Pachi Marcá with his whole armada was in the river of Putulaõ[3], and the Moors belonging to it on shore with *tranqueiras* erected; and that Pachi Marcá had gone with part of his forces to Ceilaõ[4] to assist Madune against his brother. Miguel Ferreira considered this a piece of good luck, and agreed with his captains to attack the *parós*[5], which were sixteen in number;

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[1] According to Correa, the viceroy wrote and asked the king of Ceylon for a loan, which he obtained, but which was never repaid (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 221).

[2] Correa gives details of the voyage, which may or may not be true (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 226–7).

[3] That is, the Puttaḷam lake. Correa says it was "the river of Negumbo"; but Couto is more likely correct.

[4] The Portuguese writers always distinguished Maṉṉár from the mainland of Ceylon.

[5] Boats (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Prow").

and going towards that river, they reached it in the daybreak watch, and under arms entered it, and found the *parós* all fastened together with their sterns on the land, and *tranqueiras* erected along the sea with artillery placed in them. Miguel Ferreira attacked the vessels, and at once entered them without meeting with any resistance, and all our men leaping ashore with loud shouts attacked the *tranqueiras*, in which were nearly two thousand men. And as they took them by surprise, when they wished to run to their arms our men had already entered, and many were severely wounded and killed; and nevertheless those that were not immediately cut down, hastening to the defence, engaged our men in a hand-to-hand battle, and at the end of it, with the loss of many, they abandoned the *tranqueiras*, which remained with all the artillery in the possession of our men, some of whom also were left dead and wounded, though only few. Miguel Ferreira ordered the artillery to be embarked, and taking the *parós* in tow went towards Columbo, where he disembarked with all his men under arms, and thus went marching to the city of Cotta. The king went out to receive him, because he was a great friend of his, and congratulated him on his victory, conducting him to the city, where he entertained him well, and gave him an account of all that had passed with his brother[1], telling him how until then he had kept him besieged, and that as soon as he received news of the defeat of the armada of Pachi Marcá he had retired with the latter to Ceitavaca. Miguel Ferreira agreed with the king to go and seek Madune at Ceitavaca, and not to rise from before that city until they had captured him, in order that he might give no more trouble to him, or expense to the state of India with so many succours as had been sent to him.

And having mustered all the troops that he could, the king commenced to march towards Ceitavaca[2], Miguel Ferreira going in the van with five hundred Portuguese divided into five companies, and entering Madune's territories, they began to commit great injuries and cruelties. Miguel Ferreira dispatched a *modeliar* with a message to Madune, informing him of his arrival, and that he assured him that he was not going to quit that island without leaving him totally destroyed, and the king of Cotta secure and quiet; that he requested him to

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[1] Correa (*C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 227) has it that the king made bitter complaints against the Portuguese factor Pero Vaz Travassos, insisting on his being sent away, and that Miguel Ferreira at last threatened to return to India and leave the king to his fate, and so on.

[2] Correa says they marched along a large river (the Kelani).

send him forthwith Pachi Marcá, and all the Malavares that were with him, or else he swore by Nazareth (an oath that he always used) that he would take his whole kingdom from him and pursue him until he had him in his hands and carried his head to the viceroy of India. This message was given to Madune, who was alarmed at the power with which his brother was coming against him, and at the injuries that he was doing in his realms; and he replied[1] with great humility that he knew well that it was not lawful for kings to deliver up men who were in their power; but that everything else he was ready to do; and that all the friendship that his brother wished, conditions and terms, he would grant them all. With this man he dispatched another of his own, by whom he sent to beg the king his brother to cease from the injuries that he was doing and the punishments that he was inflicting in his realms; and that all the satisfaction that he required he was ready to give him. As the king of Cotta was a good man, and had a kind heart, being touched with the humility of his brother, he wished to retire at once, but Miguel Ferreira would not consent to it, and sent to tell Madune once more that he if was determined not to deliver up Pachi Marcá with all the Malavares he must know that he would go right into Ceitavaca in search of him. Seeing such boldness, Madune, astonished at the determination of Miguel Ferreira, sent to tell him that he need not move from where he was, and that he would satisfy him in a manner whereby he would not incur infamy. And calling Pachi Marcá and his brother Cunhale Marcá, he told them how Miguel Ferreira insisted upon his delivering them up to him, and that he thought it well that they should one night take to flight, in order that he might have an excuse for exculpating himself. And so he counselled them to betake themselves to a village in the interior, where they would remain hidden until Miguel Ferreira returned, which they forthwith did, taking with them some seventy Moors besides of their following.

And journeying that night amidst the jungles, where by order of Madune were concealed many *pachas* (who are a caste of Chingalás cruel in the extreme, so that when they capture an enemy they immediately cut off his nose and lips[2]), as they

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[1] Correa says nothing about any message from Miguel Ferreira; but states that Máyádunnė sent his foster-mother with a message to the king.

[2] Apparently Vęddás are meant (see *Teix.* 237). We shall hear of these people again, as helping the Portuguese to defend Columbo against Rája Siṇha I. (see *infra*, p. 295). Perhaps *pacha* is a corruption of Siṇh. *paṭṭayá*, "vile or worthless man, wicked mischievous fellow, rascal" (Clough).

passed they showered upon them flights of arrows, and one by one struck them all down, and cutting off their heads carried them to Miguel Ferreira, at which he was appeased[1]. The king of Cotta made peace with his brother, and when they had returned to the city of Cotta the king commanded to make a payment to the soldiers of the armada, and to Miguel Ferreira and all the captains he gave stuffs and trinkets of gold and precious stones, and lent thirty thousand cruzados for the expenses of that armada. Seeing that all was ended, Miguel Ferreira dispatched the whole armada with the vessels of the Malavares to Goa, writing a short letter to the viceroy, the substance of which was :—That he had in that expedition done all that he had commanded him, that he left Ceilaõ in entire peace, and that Pachi Marcá with all his race was destroyed, as he would learn there from the captains of the armada; and that he sent him there all his vessels as a present.

This armada reached Goa at the end of April, and the viceroy caused many celebrations to be made for that victory, and conferred many honours and favours upon the captains. And so this was one of the great deeds of this kind that was done in India, by which Malavar was so intimidated, that the Çamorim at once sent to beg peace of the viceroy, which he granted him, as we shall relate further on.

Miguel Ferreira, after dispatching the armada for Goa, set sail to go to Saõ Thome, where he had his house, taking some vessels from that coast with him, and went about outside the island, it not being now the season for going inside; ...... This man was at this time more than seventy years old, large in body, dry, lean, well-favoured, a great horseman, and crafty in war. He was never married, but had some natural children; he dwelt in that city, where he was always wealthy and honoured, and where he died. From there he hastened with great readiness to help in the service of the king, and he was called upon by the governors in times of great need.

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[1] See *Rájávaliya* 78, where Kuñji 'Alí is called Kuṇḍali, and it is said that Máyádunné and the *vaḍakkaru* coming from before Girá-im̃bula were defeated by the Portuguese in Gurubẹvila pass, which tallies with Correa's narrative (*C. Lit. Reg.* 227). According to the same authority, "two of the principal *vaḍakkaru*" were bound by Máyádunné and sent to Kóṭṭé. That they were treacherously murdered is, however, confirmed by Correa (*C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 228) and Zínuddín (see Lopes 65). Correa, however, says that they were killed by the factor Manuel de Queirós and a body of twenty Portuguese.

DEC. V., BK. VI., CHAP. i.

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...... But above all they [the Burmese] worship and venerate that idol called Budaõ, of which we have already many times spoken above, in the ninth chapter of the fifth book[1], who they say landed in that kingdom[2], coming from the the island of Ceilaõ[3], and that he was sent by God to give them light. And so they all have so great a veneration towards that island of Ceilaõ, as towards a sacred object, and the chief pilgrimage is that to the Peak, which they call that of Adam, where the Budaõ, their writings say, stayed many years[4]. And because regarding this Peak there have been very various opinions among the writers of Europe[5], we shall presently relate the truth as to what the natives hold concerning it, according to their writings, and what appears to us in regard to it.

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DEC. V., BK. VI., CHAP. ii.

Of the Peak, which they call that of Adam, in the island of Ceilaõ: and of the various opinions that there have been regarding it: and of that which the natives hold[6].

In the preceding chapter we promised to give an account of that footprint that is on that mountain which is called Adam's Peak in the island of Ceilaõ, by reason of the great

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[1] As a matter of fact, in the chapter referred to, the Buddha is mentioned only once.

[2] Pegu.

[3] Buddha visited neither Ceylon nor Pegu.

[4] *Cf.* Barros III. II. i., *supra*, p. 36.

[5] See *infra*, V. VI. ii., and Skeen's *Adam's Peak*, chap. ii.

[6] Valentyn, in his *Ceylon* (379–82), has translated this chapter, but has made some ridiculous blunders, and has also interpolated remarks of his own, fathering them upon Couto. These I shall point out in the notes below. (He also gives an absurd, purely imaginary picture of the Peak.) Philalethes (*Hist. of Cey.* 212 ff.) has translated a portion of Valentyn's translation, errors and interpolations included; and Skeen (73–9) has given a fresh (but faulty) translation of this Couto-Valentyn hash, correcting some of the Dutch writer's mistakes in footnotes, but crediting the Portuguese historian with them. Sá e Menezes, in his *Reb. de Cey.* cap. i., quotes from Couto's account (see C. A. S. Jl. xi. 456–8).

disagreement that prevails among writers, and the fictions that Marco Polo Veneto and Nicolao de Conti with other Venetians have written[1]. And because we discussed the truth of this with Chingalás who were very old and conversant with the affairs of that island, and with its rites and customs, and they told us what is in their writings[2], it will be well that we dispel the confusion that has existed hitherto.

This Peak, which is called Adam's, is a mountain that is in the heart of that island, in certain territories that they call Dinavaca[3], and is so high, that it is seen from a distance of twelve leagues[4], when one approaches the island. The natives call it Amalala Saripadi[5], which in their language means "mountain of the footprint"[6]. It goes rising from below, and above divides into two[7] peaks, and on one of them is this footprint, and from both descend several streams of water, which are formed by some springs that exist above, and go in different directions to form at the foot of the mountain a small river that almost encircles it. In this stream[8] the pilgrims that go to make their offerings to the footprint bathe, for that is their baptism, and they hold that there they are purified. On the summit of one of these peaks there is a flat surface of

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[1] The animus displayed by Couto in this sentence is due to the fact that the Venetians were the detested rivals of the Portuguese, the hatred being mutual, since the discovery of the route to India had destroyed the eastern trade of Venice (see Hunter i. 186–7).

[2] As Couto was never in Ceylon, it must have been at Goa that he met these old Siṇhalese (*cf. supra*, V. I. v., p. 62, V. II. x., p. 101).

[3] See *supra*, p. 34. Sá e Menezes (*op. cit.*) says "in the territories of Ceitavaca"!

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 36, note [2]. Here Valentyn interpolates :—"It begins really near Guilemale, and Dinavaca lies to the west of it, and one can see it much farther than twelve miles away, since Guilemale lies 24 hours from Colombo."

[5] Valentyn alters this to "Hammanelle Siripade." (*Cf.* Tennent's erroneous note in his *Ceylon* ii. 132.)

[6] This is, of course, not literally exact, Samanala Siripádé meaning "Saman's-dwelling of the sacred footprint." By some extraordinary misapprehension, Sá e Menezes says that Amalala Saripadi "is the same as 'land of Eve'"!

[7] By a printer's error apparently, Valentyn has "12," upon which Skeen founds a footnote unjustifiably charging Couto with error. The latter probably meant the real Peak and the False Peak (Bẹna Samanala).

[8] Valentyn interpolates "named Sitegangele," which calls forth another footnote from Skeen.

moderate extent[1], and in the midst thereof is a slab[2] (which will be about the size of two gravestones) elevated on large stones; in the middle is the form of a footprint, much larger than ordinary ones, of such a fashion, that it appears as if it had been impressed in the same stone, in the very same manner that a signet is impressed in a little soft wax, or the footprint of a man in a little soft clay[3]. The pilgrims who resort hither (who are innumerable), not only heathens but also Moors, from Persia to China, on reaching that little river, purify themselves, as we have already said, with their ceremonies, and clothe themselves with new cloths. After it seems to them that they are purified, they climb the mountain, which is very steep; and a little distance before they arrive at the summit there are certain beams[4] laid across, from which hangs a great bell of the fashion of those of China[5], of the finest metal, and from it hangs a large mallet covered with leather[6], upon which [bell] each pilgrim is obliged to strike a blow in order that they may know if they are pure; because they hold amongst themselves that for him who is impure the bell will not sound; and such a one is obliged to return and purify himself with other greater ceremonies. Thus are they deceived by the devils, who, in such a manner put into their heads that all are pure; because there was never a man for whom the bell failed to

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[1] Valentyn has rendered this correctly; but Philalethes translates "a small plain," and Skeen simply "a plain," to which he appends an unnecessary footnote.

[2] Sá e Menezes has *loza*, which Lieutenant-Colonel St. George has erroneously translated "building."

[3] What with mistranslations and interpolations, Valentyn has made sad nonsense of the above. He says:—". . . . and in the middle of this a *water tank, named Wellamallacandoere*, being of the size of two *graves*, raised up with great stones, and in the middle is the form of a great footprint, *which they name Siripade*, of a foot much larger than an ordinary one, and of such fashions that it appears to be impressed in the stone, just as a signet is impressed in *white* wax." Here Valentyn has misread *lagea* (slab) as *lagoa* (lake), and *branda* (hot) as *branca* (white); and his first interpolation has evoked from Skeen two further footnotes.

[4] Valentyn erroneously translates *traves* by *trappen* (steps), and after this word interpolates "or really two upright stone columns, upon which is laid another stone from the one to the other."

[5] That is, a basin-shaped gong.

[6] Valentyn has "and from this hangs a large clapper *bored through, through the whole of which goes a cord of leather, at which each must pull*, and give a blow upon the bell," &c. This interpolation owes its origin to Valentyn's having misread *forrado* (covered, or overlaid) as *furado* (bored).

sound. And we have spoken with persons who made this pilgrimage in company with more than five hundred, and the bell sounded for all[1]. Having reached the top, they can do no more, except kiss that stone with great veneration and return, and on no account may they go up on the top of the slab, because it is a sin without absolution[2]. The Moors likewise go thither to make offerings, because they say that that footprint was of our father Adam, and that thence he ascended to the heavens, and that of the last foot there remained in the stone that form[3].

Marco Polo Veneto[4], third book, folio 55[5], says, that the Moors hold among themselves that under that stone was the sepulchre of Adam. And he says further, that the native heathen related, that a son of a king, called Sogomombarcaõ[6], contemning the kingdom, resorted to that mountain to live a holy life, and that thence he ascended to the heavens, and that the father ordered temples to be made and statues erected to him, and that thence originated the idolatry of India. The natives whom we have questioned laugh at this; but that of which they have their writings, and which they today sing in their songs (in which they preserve all their antiquities), is what I shall now relate very briefly, becauses in all their stories and histories they are all very prolix[7].

They say[8] that there was a king who reigned over the whole of the East; that having been many years married without having children, at the end of his old age God was pleased to

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[1] For this sentence Valentyn substitutes "Four to five hundred together go there on this pilgrimage."

[2] In Valentyn the foregoing clause undergoes the following extraordinary transformation:—" .... and they are on no account allowed to climb up *by the pool or water tank, which in Cingalees is named Darroepokoene, that is, tank of the children. When women are unfruitful, they drink of that water; but they may not go themselves to fetch it, but it is brought to them by the jogis.* To climb up this *tank* would be an unpardonable sin." All this interpolation, again, is founded on the same blunder as before, *lagea* having been misread as *lagoa.*

[3] Here Valentyn interpolates:—"This proceeds from an old Eastern tradition that Adam, being driven out of Paradise, was sent to a mountain in India, named Serandive (that is, the island of Ceylon)."

[4] Valentyn has the curious form "Marc. P. Venetus."

[5] Valentyn substitutes "L. 16, 3 pag." For Marco Polo's account of Adam's Peak and the Buddha see Yu e's *Marco Polo* ii. 316 ff.

[6] Sagamoni Borcan in Yule's *Marco Polo.* The name, according to Marsden, represents Sákyamuni + Burkham (divinity), the latter word being used by the Mongols as a synonym for Buddha.

[7] In this paragraph Valentyn takes liberties with the original.

[8] Couto repeats what follows, almost verbatim, in VII. III. x. (p. 178).

give him a son, the greatest and most beautiful being that could be ; and on commanding his astrologers to cast his horoscope, they found that this child would be a saint, and that he would contemn his father's kingdoms, and would make himself a pilgrim (whom they call *jogues*) : on which the father, filled with grief, determined to prevent all these things by shutting up his son[1] so that he might see nothing. And so when he was over five years of age he placed him in certain palaces[2], which he had ordered to be made for that purpose[3], locked and shut in, with large and verdant gardens inside, where he commanded him to be brought up in company with noble youths of his own age, with guards and watchers, in order that beyond these no one else should speak to him, so that he might not see or hear anything that might cause him discontent, nor learn that there was anything else outside of there, lest he should desire it. Here he was reared until the age of eighteen, without knowing that there was sickness, death, or any other human misery.

On arriving at years of discretion, he did not fail to discover that there were more things than those he saw ; wherefore he sent to beg his father to allow him to leave there and go and see the cities and towns of his kingdom. This the king granted him, commanding him to be brought forth and conducted to the city with great caution ; and in one street he encountered a lame and infirm man, and on asking those who accompanied him what this was, they told him that these were ordinary things in the world, where there were many lame, blind, and with other defects. On another occasion when they again took him forth, he saw a very decrepit old man leaning on a stick, his whole body trembling. Astonished at this sight, the prince inquired what it was, and they told him that that proceeded from the many years that he had lived, and that therefore men who reached that age became very feeble[4]. Another day he encountered a dead man, whom they were carrying to burial with great lamentation, and on inquiring as to this, they told him ; whereupon the prince asked : " What ! I and all of us have to die ? " and on their telling him " Yes," he became melancholy and sad.

While going along in this frame of mind, they say, there appeared to him in a vision a saint in the form of a pilgrim, who persuaded him to contemn the world and adopt a solitary life ; and as he was already thus influenced, and had more

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[1] Valentyn interpolates " in some gardens " (or " courts ").

[2] Valentyn has " walled gardens (and verandas)."

[3] Valentyn omits these words.

[4] This last clause is omitted by Valentyn.

freedom, he found means to disappear in the garb of a pilgrim, and betook himself into the interior of that country to lead a solitary and very austere life[1]. And omitting many fables that they relate, both of his flight and his wanderings, after passing through many countries, they say that he came to Ceilaõ, bringing with him a great concourse of disciples. There on that mountain he led such a life for so many years that the natives worshipped him as God[2]; and desiring to depart thence for other parts, his disciples who remained there begged him to leave them some memorial of him, that they might reverence it in his name; whereupon planting his foot upon that slab[3], he impressed that footprint, which continued to be held in such veneration, as we have said. In the histories of this prince he is called by many names, but his proper one was Dramá Rajo[4]; and that by which he was known after he was held as a saint is the Budaõ, which means "wise"[5], of whom we have already spoken above in the ninth chapter of the fifth book, who is said to have prophesied of the city of Pegú: to those parts he proceeded after leaving Ceilaõ.

To this name the heathen throughout the whole of India have dedicated[6] great and superb *pagodes*[7]. On seeing this history, we began to reflect if the ancient heathens of these parts had knowledge in their writings of Saint Josaphat, who was converted by Barlaõ, who according to the legend of him[8] we hold to have been the son of a great king of India, and that he had the same upbringing and all the other experiences that we have related of the life of this Budaõ. And as the history of Josaphat must have been written by the natives (for nothing is left unwritten by them), it would seem that in course of time many fables came to be added to it, as they have in the life of the Budaõ, which we pass over, because not in two chapters should we bring them to an end as they have them.

And as we are reminded of what was told us by a very old man of the district of Salsete in Baçaim regarding Saint

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[1] Valentyn omits these last words.

[2] Valentyn inserts "a" before "God."

[3] Once more Valentyn has "water-tank," and again Skeen has a footnote attempting to explain the absurdity.

[4] Dharmarája ("King of Righteousness"), a common title of the Buddha's. Skeen has an uncalled-for note on this, accusing Couto of confusion.

[5] Or "sage."

[6] Valentyn substitutes "To him ...... have erected."

[7] The rest of this paragraph and the two following are omitted by Valentyn.

[8] On the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat see Yule's *Marco Polo*, 3rd ed., ii. 323 ff.

Josaphat, it seems well to us to record it. We were going in this island of Salsete[1] looking at that rare and marvellous *pagode* (which they call that of Canará[2]), made in a mountain, and having many halls cut out of a single rock, and one of them as large as the palace of the Ribeira at Lisbon, and more than three hundred chambers on the mountain above, in the form of a spiral, each one with its cistern at the door, in the same living stone, of the coolest and most excellent water that could be desired; and at the doors of the great hall the most beautiful statues as large as giants, of such subtle and perfect workmanship, that better could not be formed in silver; with many other magnificent objects, which we pass over so as not to be discursive.

And asking this old man, of whom we have spoken, regarding this work, and what he thought as to who had done it, he told us[3] that without doubt it had been done by order of the father of Saint Josaphat, in order that he might be taken and brought up therein, as his legend says. And as we learn from it that he was the son of a great king of India, it may well be, as we have already said, that this was the Budaõ, of whom they recount so many marvels.

And continuing with the footprint on the Peak, having taken much trouble to ascertain the truth thereof, and having visited many antiquities of India[4], it seems to us that it might be that of the blessed apostle St. Thomas; and likewise certain marks of knees that are impressed at the present day in a large stone that stands in the neighbourhood of the *Pedreira* at Columbo[5], which a vicar[6] of that fortress told us

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[1] In VII. III. x. Couto describes this island and its caves. (See also Gerson da Cunha's *H·s·ory and Antiquities of Bassein* 188–201.)

[2] In VII. III. x. Couto has, more correctly, Canari; but he adds, "which is presumed to be the work of the Canarás, and for that reason it is so called." As a fact, the cave temples are the famous ones of Káṇherí, a name that has no connection with Kanara (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Kennery").

[3] In VII. III. x. Couto tells us more about this old man, and repeats there more fully what he tells us here.

[4] Valentyn omits from "on the Peak" to "India."

[5] Of the *Pedreira* at Columbo we shall hear more in connection with the siege of the fortress by Rája Siṃha I. in 1586–8 (see pp. 283, 306, 325). The name literally means "quarry," and Valentyn translates "in a part of a quarry"; but it is a proper name, and was applied to one particular spot near Columbo, the identity of which I shall discuss when we come to the siege referred to. (Ten. ii. 133 has an erroneous note on this statement of Couto's.)

[6] I cannot identify this vicar, unless he be the one mentioned in X. x. iv. (p. 325), Fa. Francisco Vieira.

he had noted well many times, and that they did not appear to him to have been made designedly[1], and this we say of other similar ones, which are to be found in the city of Maliapor, where that apostle made his abode; because although his legend does not state that he visited that island, it is a thing that might have been, since a record has not been made of all the places that he visited, as I have already said, in the first chapter of the tenth book of the Fourth Decade, of the period when the Tartars and Mogores received the faith of Christ.

In a judicial inquiry that was held in the city of Maliapor by order of the king Dom Manoel in the time of the governor Dom Duarte de Meneses[2] regarding the body of the holy apostle, a certain Diogo Fernandez, a Portuguese, testified that in the year 1517 he went from Malaca, in company with one Bastiaõ Fernandez and an Armenian called Coja Escander, to visit the house of the saint, and that he was the first Portuguese that had reached there; and that on their all entering therein they found it surrounded by jungle and ruined, and at the door of it a very old Moor, who had the care of keeping alight a lamp by order of the heathen (who always had much devotion for that house), and who related to them many things of the life of the apostle, which they had not known or heard; and that he showed them a footprint stamped in a stone, as fresh as if the foot had just been placed there in that very hour, and the stone had been clay; and another stone in which was the mark of a knee; and that it was firmly held by the natives that those two signs were left there by the holy apostle; and that when they killed him he knelt on that stone, and left in it that mark[3]. He said also, that in the year 1519 there went thither three Portuguese from Malaca, called Antonio Lobo Falcaõ, Manoel[4] Falcaõ, and Joaõ Moreno, who took the stone with the knee-mark, and broke it, and divided it between them, carrying it off as a great relic; and that afterwards they worked many miracles, as we shall tell in another part[5].

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[1] They were probably water-hollowed marks.

[2] 1521–4. King Manuel died 13 December 1521. What follows is recounted more fully by Barros in III. VII. xi. On this inquiry see Whiteway 203. (It was conducted by Miguel Ferreira, then captain of Paleacate, whom we met with *supra*, in V. V. vi. and V. V. viii., pp. 103–7).

[3] The next four paragraphs Valentyn omits.

[4] Barros (*u.s.*) has Joam.

[5] The reference seems to be to VII. x. v., which chapter is devoted to the house, stone, &c., of St. Thomas at Meliapor.

All this is sufficient reason for proof of the conjecture that we made as to the footprint on Adam's Peak and the knee-marks at the *Pedreira* being those of the holy apostle, who went about filling India with miracles and wonders, of which we have only the smaller part in his legend; and in many writings we find that such marks were always miraculous and permitted by God.

In a court of the Holy House in Jerusalem, which is paved with beautiful slabs, in one of them are the impressions of two footprints like that of which we are treating, which (according to the opinion of some who have written concerning the Holy Temple, and among them the father Frey Pantaleaõ) they affirm to be those of an Abyssinian who was martyred there for the faith of Christ, who thought well that some vestiges should remain there as a sign of how he esteemed his martyrdom. In the Church of the Ascension, which stands on Mount Olivet, is to be seen another stone with a footprint like these, which our Lord Jesus Christ left there, when he ascended into heaven, of the last foot that he raised. In the Garden of Gethsemane (in that place where the three apostles placed themselves whilst Christ prayed) is another stone, on which those disciples lay, and on it are impressed the forms of the bodies, as if in a little soft wax.

Wherefore this footprint on Adam's Peak and the knee-marks of which we have spoken are miraculous, and at that time there went to India no one who could do such miracles but this holy apostle. And having read what Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, says (and it is related by Maffei in the third book of his History of India), that in this footprint on Adam's Peak is venerated the memory of the eunuch of Queen Candace, who, he says, went about preaching the gospel throughout the whole of the Red Sea, Arabia Felix, and Taprobana, we cannot discover whence that learned man could have inferred this, since it is not said in any writing that this eunuch left Abyssinia, of which he was a native. And we made diligent inquiry throughout India, and spoke with many ancient and learned Moors, heathen, and even Jews, and in no part of it is there any knowledge or tradition of this eunuch.

And to conclude with these matters of Ceilaõ, we shall do so briefly with one that to us is very wonderful, which is, that all the trees that stand around the foot of this Adam's Peak, and even those more than half a league distant from it, all in every part make with their boughs an inclination towards the mountain, all having very straight trunks as far as where the branches begin, without any wind causing them to change[1].

[1] Valentyn adds: "this must have some reason."

This is held by all in the island for a miracle[1], and if it is not one[2] (for it may well be that God desires that they all make that reverence to the footprint of his apostle),[3] there must be some natural cause for it[4]; and what appears to us is, that it originates from some property that that mountain has of attracting to itself trees, as the loadstone does iron. And as we read of that fountain of Pliny which is in our Portugal, that if a very large tree is brought near to the water it swallows the whole of it, and draws it in branch by branch until it has entirely disappeared: now let the curious philosophize over this.

This whole island is so prosperous, that the king of Cotta having commanded two *parás* of corn[5] to be sown, it responded with sixty. The jungles all consist of trees of citrus[6] and other excellent fruits[7]. It has pepper, ginger, cardamom, many sugarcanes, honey, many civet-cats, elephants, many precious stones, rubies, catseyes, chrysolites, amethysts, true sapphires, and others white[8], very fine beryl, so pure that it looks like crystal[9], and all hold it for such, in which they are deceived. It has iron, coir, tow[10], many rivers of excellent water, in which are bred many and good fish; it has many makers of arms, chiefly of firelocks, where are made the best in the whole of India[11]. It has many bays and ports in one and another part, capable of containing large ships and vessels. It has many other things which I omit in order not to be discursive[12].

DEC. V., BK. VI., CHAP. iii.

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...... The principal [*pagodes* resorted to by pilgrims] and those held in most veneration throughout the whole of

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[1] Valentyn has "great wonder."

[2] Valentyn omits these words.

[3] Valentyn omits the rest of the paragraph.

[4] On this subject see Skeen 64–6.

[5] The original is *trigo*, which really means "wheat," but this grain can hardly be meant here.

[6] Literary "thorny trees," by which general term Portuguese writers described trees of the citrus genus.

[7] Valentyn omits the foregoing paragraph.

[8] Literary "of water." Valentyn has *weeke* (soft), which is incorrect.

[9] Valentyn omits the rest of this sentence.

[10] Instead of "coir, tow," Valentyn has "lacker-work"!

[11] *Cf. supra*, p. 72. What follows, Valentyn omits.

[12] In view of the loss of Barros's *Geography*, it is to be regretted that Couto has not been more discursive regarding Ceylon.

Industaõ are the *pagodes* of Ramanacor[1] opposite to Manar, near the shoals of Chiláo ...... There is also the *pagode* of Tanavaré[2] in Ceilaõ, and that of Adam's Peak[3]. ......

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DEC. V., BK. VI., CHAP. VI.

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...... the viceroy[4] ...... sending a galleon with supplies to Ceilaõ[5] ......

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DEC. V., BK. VII., CHAP. IV.

...... *And of the ambassadors that the king of Cotta sent to the kingdom.*

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And returning to our subject, the governor[6] hastened the writing of the letters for the kingdom, and dispatched the ships to Cochim to take in cargo, and in them embarked Dom Alvaro de Noronha, son of the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha. There also embarked two ambassadors[7] from the king of Cotta in Ceilaõ, who went with good credentials, and by them that king sent to beg the king Dom Joaõ to do him the favour to swear as hereditary prince a grandson of his, son of his daughter[8] and of Tribuli Pandar, on account of his having

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[1] See *supra*, p. 96, note [3].

[2] Dondra. See *supra*, p. 33, and *infra*, p. 373.

[3] See the foregoing chapter, in which, however, curiously enough, Couto does not mention any *pagode* on Adam's Peak.

[4] D. Garcia de Noronha.

[5] It was the custom to send from Goa to Ceylon each year (in September-November) a galleon, which conveyed supplies to the Portuguese stationed at Columbo, and brought back the tribute cinnamon and other goods for the cargoes of the homeward-bound ships (*cf. C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 236, 237). In Purchas ix. (164) will be found details of the salaries and provision of the officers and men of "the Galleon of the Traffick and Voyage of Ceilaon," from a "tractate" by the viceroy D. Duarte de Menezes (1584).

[6] D. Estevão da Gama, second son of Vasco da Gama, 1540–2.

[7] The *Rájávaliya* (77) mentions only one, Sallappu Árachchi (*cf. supra*, p. 74, note [5]). The whole paragraph in the *Rájávaliya* relating to the embassy is out of place.

[8] The *Rájávaliya* (79) records the death of this princess "from constitutional weakness"; but when this took place is not clear (*cf. infra*, p. 164, note [2]).

no other heir[1]; sending him the likeness of his grandson, which was of natural size[2], in the form of a statue of gold, placed in a large box, with a crown of gold set with many precious stones in the hand for the king to crown it therewith[3]. These ships reached Portugal safely[4], and the king received these ambassadors very well; and for the act of swearing the prince the king commanded to summon all the lords of the realm, and carried it out in public assembly with the greatest solemnity and ceremony possible, crowning the prince after the manner of the kingdom, commanding great festivities and bull fights to be held[5]. And having passed to them his letter of confirmation, and bestowed many favours on the ambassadors[6], he sent them back well satisfied in the next ships[7].

Dec. V., Bk. ix., Chap. vii.

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And hoisting sail he [the governor, Martim Affonso de Sousa] went following his course with strong dry winds until

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[1] Possibly this may imply that Bhuvaneka Báhu's daughter was dead. As the marriage seems to have taken place in (June ?) 1538, this "heir" cannot have been more than some eighteen months old.

[2] The original has "que era de Maraa," which is unintelligible. I suspect that *Maraa* is an error for *marca*, and that the meaning is what I have given; though the words might be taken as referring to the prince, in which case they would mean "who was of note."

[3] The *Rájávaliya* (77) mentions the golden image, but not the other details.

[4] In August 1541, according to Fig. Falcão.

[5] It is remarkable that of this ceremony and the attendant festivities no account is extant, in print at any rate. Ribeiro (I. v.) says that the ceremony took place in 1541; but I think it more probable that the year was 1542.

[6] In a valuable paper by the eminent Portuguese scholar Dr. Sousa Viterbo, published in the *Historia e Memorias* of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Lisbon, and entitled "O Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão," are printed some documents of March 1543 relating to this embassy, chiefly favours granted by King D. João III. In these the ambassador is called "Pamditer," the infant grandson "Tammapala Pandarym," the Siṇhalese king "Buhanegabahoo," and his grand chamberlain "Tammatey Samparaprimal" (this last evidently Vídiye Baṇḍára's brother Tammita Súrya Baṇḍára, whom we shall meet with below, in VI. ix. xviii., &c.).

[7] These last words are rather misleading: in fact, the ambassadors left Portugal for India in the fleet that sailed 25 March 1543 under Diogo da Silveira (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 237, and *cf. infra*, p. 124, note [1]).

he had passed Cape Comori[1]; and as it was the conjunction of the moon, on going towards the shoals, the *vara* of Choromandel[2] swept down with such fury, that it scattered the whole fleet, which was quite disorganized, each one running whither he best could. The governor with the greater part of the galleys almost sinking and water-logged cast anchor at the Ilha das Vacas[3]. There he remained many days until the monsoon had passed[4]; and seeing that there was now no time to go forward, he became sad and melancholy on account of the ill success that a fleet that he had prepared at such expense had had. And summoning to his galley the captains, he revealed to them whither he had been going, and showed them the king's letters, and those that they had written to him from India, in which they had made light of that expedition, saying to them, that by that they would see the reason why he had prepared that fleet, and that they might now judge what he should do; because he was ready to fulfil what the king had commanded him; that if there was still time to pass the shoals he would do it, as the expense had already been incurred[5]. And all the pilots having been summoned, on discussing if they could still pass, they all agreed that the monsoon was already over, and that nothing could now be done. On this it was resolved to return, whereupon the governor turned about and

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[1] Regarding this shameful expedition, which left Goa on 12 August 1543, see Whiteway 283–4.

[2] See *supra*, p. 31, note [3]

[3] " The Isle of Cows " : the name given by the Portuguese to Neduntívu (or Delft, as the Dutch subsequently named it).

[4] The most interesting fact about this expedition is, that the famous Dr. Garcia da Orta, who was a friend of the governor's, accompanied it; and he tells us in his *Coloquios* (Col. 45) that while in the *Ilha das Vacas* he saw many goats slaughtered for the armada, the largest of which had bezoar stones in their stomachs. He adds, that it afterwards became a custom for the Bengal ships to call at this island for these concretions (see Garcia da Orta ii. 232, 235–6).

[5] Correa states that from the Isle of Cows the governor sent a blackmailing message to the king of Jaffna (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 237). Xavier, writing to the directors of the college of Santa Fé in Goa, from Cochin, 27 January 1545, says :—" Jafanapatan was not taken, nor was the possession of the kingdom given to that king who was to become a Christian : this was not done, because there ran ashore a ship of the king's that came from Pegu, and the king of Jafanapatan seized the goods, and until what he seized is recovered that which the governor ordered is not to be done ; please God that it be done if it shall be to his service. I was in Jafanapatan some days, ..." (see *Miss. dos Jes.* 37–8). On this subject see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 327.

once more doubled the Cape, picking up several vessels of his company, which he went to look for in those ports.

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DEC. V., BK. X., CHAP. VI.

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...... Cogecemaçadim[1], since at the first he had argued against going[2], could not find means to again justify it; not because he was afraid of anything, because if he had had any suspicions he would not have gone on board a galleon that had arrived a few days before from Ceilaõ[3] and anhcored in that bay, the captain of which was Pero de Mesquita, to which Cogecemaçadim went to see some elephants that it had brought, and he went on board the galleon quite at his ease and with full assurance, without fearing anything.

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[1] Regarding the *khwája* Shamsuddín and the story of which this extract forms a part, see Whiteway 285–9.

[2] To Goa, whither the Portuguese were trying to inveigle him from Cananor.

[3] This was probably the vessel that had (as usual) gone in September 1544 to fetch the tribute and other cinnamon for the loading of the homeward-bound ships (*cf. supra*, p. 118, note [5]).

COUTO.

DECADE VI.

1545-1554 A.D.

Portuguese Governors of India.—D. João de Castro, governor and viceroy, September 1545 to June 1548; Garcia de Sá, governor, June 1548 to June 1549; Jorge Cabral, governor, June 1549 to November 1550; D. Affonso de Noronha, viceroy, November 1550 to September 1554.

Siṃhalese Rulers in Ceylon.—Bhuvaneka Báhu VII., 1534–51 (Kóṭṭé); Dharmapála *alias* Dom João Pereapandar, 1551–97 (Kóṭṭé); Máyádunné, 1534–81 (?) (Sítaváka); Víra Vikrama, 1542–5–(?) (Kandy).

Tamil King in Jaffna.—Saṅgili.

Portuguese Captains-Major of Ceylon.—D. João Henriques, 1551–2; Diogo de Mello Coutinho, 1552; D. Duarte Deça, 1552–3; Fernão Carvalho (acting), 1553–5.

In this Decade we are told of the arrival in Ceylon (in 1543) of the first Franciscan missionaries, and of the propagation of Christianity by them on the south-western coast and in the kingdom of Kandy. The duplicity of the Kandyan ruler, who pretended to be inclined to Christianity, led to the sending to Kandy of two Portuguese expeditions (one in 1547, the other in 1550), both of which had to retreat, the latter suffering severe loss. Máyádunné once more (1549) took up arms against his brother Bhuvaneka Báhu VII.; and a Portuguese force sent to aid the latter defeated Máyádunné's troops and captured his capital Sítávaka, which was sacked (1550). In October 1550 the ship from Portugal conveying the new viceroy of India, D. Affonso de Noronha, made accidental landfall at Columbo, the viceroy's visit being followed by important consequences. In 1551, as a combined Siṃhalese and Portuguese force was about to take the field against Máyádunné, Bhuvaneka Báhu was accidentally killed, his grandson Dharmapála being thereupon proclaimed king in his stead. On this news reaching Goa, the viceroy set out with a large armada for Columbo, where on landing he at once began to

behave in the most extraordinary manner towards the king of Cota and his followers, torturing the Siṇhalese in order to discover hidden treasure, and extorting large sums of money. Another expedition against Máyádunné followed, when Sítávaka was again entered and this time looted more thoroughly than before. A design of the viceroy's to seize Dharmapála's father Vídiye Baṇdára was frustrated by the flight of the latter; but in 1552 he was treacherously captured by the captain of Columbo, and imprisoned. Succeeding in escaping (in 1553), he wreaked his vengeance on the Christians along the coast. A temporary peace was thereupon patched up. One of the most important results of the viceroy's visit in 1551 was the walling-in and fortification of Columbo on a much larger scale than in 1518–24, and the appointment of a captain-general of Ceylon.

Dec. VI., Bk. iv., Chap. vii.

Of the things that happened at this time in Ceilaõ: and of how the governor Dom Joaõ de Castro sent Antonio Moniz Barreto with a fleet to succour the king of Candea: ......

In the fourth chapter of the second book of the Fifth Decade we gave a detailed account of the great wars that broke out in Ceilaõ, between the king of Ceitavaca, Madune Pandar, and Banoegabao Pandar, king of Cota, his brother, on account of the former's wishing to deprive the latter of his kingdom; and how to rid himself of him the king of Cota married his daughter to Tribuly Pandar, on account of having no son to succeed to his throne. Of this marriage was born Dramabolla Bao[1] Bandar, who it was that the king Dom Joaõ proclaimed in Lisbon as prince and heir of the kingdom of Cota, dispatching the ambassadors who went for that purpose[2], in whose company he sent some friars of St. Francis[3], whose

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[1] Such a name as Dharmapála Báhu is, of course, an impossible monstrosity, which Tennent did not realize (see his *Ceylon* ii. 15).

[2] See *supra*, p. 119.

[3] The first Jesuits (Xavier and his two companions) had left Portugal for India on 7 April 1541, reaching Goa on 6 May 1542. On 10 May 1546, Xavier, writing from Amboina to the brethren of the Company in Portugal, says:—"With the Christians of the islands [*sic*] of Ceilan, which is near Cape Comorin, remain five friars of the order of St. Francis with other two clerics" (see *Miss. dos Jes.* 56).

custodio was the father Frey Antonio do Padraõ, a devout man who was the first commissary-general that went out to India. These friars were directed to distribute themselves over the island of Ceilaõ, in order to plant in those untilled lands the doctrine of the gospel (because the kings of Portugal always claimed in this conquest of the East so to unite the two powers, spiritual and temporal, that at no time should one be exercised without the other). These apostolic men, having arrived in Ceilaõ in company with the ambassadors[1], were very well received by the king of Cota, who gave them leave to preach the law of Christ throughout the whole of his realms. And these evangelist conquerors, not neglectful of their obligation, began to break up in several places the untilled soil, and to sow therein the gospel seed, which began to fructify like that grain of mustard in the gospel, erecting several temples, in which the most high God began to be honoured and venerated by all. And the first places in which they were built were Panaturé, Macú[2], Berberi, Galle, and Belliguaõ, all seaports, in which they brought within the pale of the church a great number of those heathens.

And penetrating into the heart of the island[3], there arrived in the kingdom of Candea one Frey Pascoal with two companions[4], who were well received by that king Javira Bandar[5], first cousin to Madune, son of a brother of his

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[1] Correa (iv. 310) says that the ships from Portugal arrived at Goa on 3 September 1543, and he also tells us (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 237) that the Siṇhalese ambassador left for Ceylon (presumably in September 1543) with Francisco d'Ayora, who was taking a galleon for the cinnamon and a ship. But he does not mention the arrival at Goa or departure for Ceylon of any friars. In a document printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (733) the guardian of St. Francis in Lisbon is made to say (in 1597) that the Franciscans had sustained Christianity in Ceylon for *forty*-four years; but I think this must be an error for *fifty*-four (1597 – 54=1543).

[2] "Macú" is Maggona. From a comparison of this list with that given on p. 170 *infra* (where we read of the anti-Christian campaign waged in 1554–5 by Vídiye Baṇḍára), it would seem that by an error "Caleturé" has been omitted after "Panaturé."

[3] This was probably in 1545–6.

[4] These were, as far as I know, the first Europeans to visit Kandyan territory.

[5] Jayavíra of the *Rájávaliya* (72, 75, 81, &c.); Víra Vikkama of the *Mahávaṃsa* (323), which expatiates on his merits as a devout Buddhist. Apparently he founded the city of Seṅkhaṇḍasela Sirivaḍḍhana (Kandy), and made it his seat; but the exact date of its foundation is uncertain, as is the year of his accession to the throne (*cf. Rájáv.* 72, 75, 81, with *Máháv.* 323, which gives 1542 as the year; and see *C. P. Gaz.* 125, 688)

father's[1], who favoured them in every way: so much so, that he gave them a large piece of ground, and everything needful for building a church, and houses for them to dwell in. There they commenced to till that unfruitful and sterile soil, which yielded no other fruit but thistles and thorns of abominable idolatries, sowing in their place the seed of life. And finding disposition in the king to invite him to the marriage supper of the Lord, they sounded him, conversing with him on matters of our faith and law, showing him clearly the truth thereof and the blindness and falsity of his idols; and so much did they succeed in softening him, that they conquered him, not however so far as to receive baptism, because he had great fear that his people would kill him[2]. And the fathers, not wishing that sheep to perish from want, persuaded him to write to the governor[3] of the wish that he had, and to beg him for a captain with men to help him against his people, if they should attempt any commotion on a change of the law. One of those fathers went with his letter, and arrived at Goa a few days after the triumphal procession of the governor Dom Joaõ de Castro[4]. And having had an interview with him, and given him an account of everything, when he had read the letter, and understood from it the desire of that heathen king, he did not wish to lose such a good opportunity; because he knew that the chief spices and the richest gems that the kings of Portugal sought for in this conquest of the East were souls for heaven[5]. And moved thereto also by his good zeal, he brought forward this matter in council, and it was there resolved that they should send him a captain with two hundred men to pass the winter and stay with that king, until they had secured him in the faith and in his kingdom.

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[1] This should be "mother's" (see *Rájáv.* 72, 75, for the connection).

[2] The *Mahávaṇsa* and the *Rájávaliya* are entirely silent regarding the king's disposition towards Christianity.

[3] D. João de Castro (1545–8).

[4] This procession took place on 21 April 1547 (see Whiteway 314): it was to celebrate the relief of Diu. Correa (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 246), by an extraordinary blunder, attributes the "conversion" of the king of Kandy to Xavier.

[5] According to Freire de Andrade, in 1546 King D. João III. had sent his viceroy in India a long letter impressing upon him the importance of the conversion of the heathen, and ordering harsh measures for those who would not become Christians; but the authenticity of this letter seems extremely doubtful (see J. Freire de Andrade's *Vida de D. João de Castro*, edited by D. Fr. Francisco de S. Luiz, 51–8, 372–6).

For this expedition the governor at once chose Antonio Moniz Barreto[1], to whom he gave seven foists, in which he was to take one hundred and fifty men, dispatching him in great haste, having given him a provision that in every place to which he should come, in which he found vessels of ours, he should take them with him; and writing by him letters full of kind words to that king, and sending him stuffs and curious trifles. Antonio Moniz Barreto set sail at the end of April, and of his journey we shall give an account further on.

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DEC. VI., BK. IV., CHAP. viii.

Of how Madune persuaded the king of Candea to revolt against the Portuguese: and of what happened to Antonio Moniz Barreto on the expedition: and of how he crossed the whole island of Ceilaõ with arms in hand fighting with the forces of that king.

Madune having learnt that the king of Candea was minded to become a Christian, and that he had sent to ask of the governor Dom Joaõ de Castro favour and help for this, fearing that this would be the means of his destruction, and that he would be left with all those kings as his enemies, set about to put a stop to the whole business, by sending to persuade the king of Candea not to become a Christian: because as soon as he did so the Portuguese would be certain to take his kingdom; and that if they did not do this his own subjects would try to kill him, in order not to be governed by men of a different law. The men that Madune sent on this business said such things to that king, and also worked upon his fears, that not only did they bring him round completely, but they also arranged with him to kill all the Portuguese that accompanied Antonio Moniz Barreto, of whom they had already had advice, this business being settled with such secrecy, that the fathers neither heard nor knew of it.

Antonio Moniz Barreto, pursuing his voyage, doubled Cape Comorim and ran along the other coast, then crossed the shoals of Manar, where he fitted out two vessels that he found there[2], and took them with him[3], and made a circuit

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[1] Came out to India as a lad in 1529, saw much service, and became governor of India, 1573–6.

[2] At Maṉṉár, apparently.

[3] In accordance with the governor's orders (see *supra*, VI. IV. vii. at end).

of the island in order to make the port of Batecalou, where, according to the order that he carried, he was to disembark[1], to proceed from there to the kingdom of Candea, as he had been directed by the same king. In Gále he took some more vessels that he found there[2], which, although he had few men, was necessary in order to spread the report on land that he had a large fleet.

And on arriving at the port of Batecalou[3] with twelve rowing vessels[4] he disembarked, and ordered several bases to be brought on shore, and munitions, and chose one hundred and twenty men[5], leaving the rest to guard the vessels, and set out for Candea[6], guided by the ambassadors of that king, who had accompanied the friar of St. Francis to Goa[7], and thus he journeyed for several days[8] until he arrived at the city of Candea[9], and as soon as he had entered it he was advised of the determination of that king, and of how he had agreed with Madune to kill him and all his company; and it was not known from what quarter the advice reached him. On hearing this, and seeing that the matter brooked of no delay, Antonio Moniz Barreto took a very speedy and resolute determination, which was to order at once on the very instant the burning of all the baggage that they had brought with them, leaving nothing but what they carried on their bodies,

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[1] The burst of the south-west monsoon being at hand.

[2] This is the first time we read of Portuguese vessels at Galle since the stay there in 1518 of Lopo Soáres on his way to Columbo to erect a fortress (see *supra*, p. 39).

[3] So far as I know, these were the first Europeans to visit this part. As Antonio Moniz left Goa at the end of April, we may take it that he reached Batecalou before the end of May 1547. He must have run great risk of being caught by the burst of the south-west monsoon.

[4] As Antonio Moniz left Goa with five foists, and commandeered two vessels at Mannár, he must have added three to his fleet at Galle.

[5] He took one hundred and fifty from Goa, but did not get many more at Mannár and Galle.

[6] Correa makes Antonio Moniz land at Columbo (apparently), where, learning that the king of Kandy has changed his mind, he is disinclined to proceed, is persuaded to do so, but is forced to turn back by hostile forces, never reaching Kandy at all (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 252–3).

[7] Regarding one of these ambassadors see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 246.

[8] How different from this bald statement is the lively description of the journey in 1602 of the first Dutch in Ceylon by the same route (see *C. Lit. Reg.* vi. 318–9, 325).

[9] This is the first mention of the royal seat, which the Portuguese called "the city of Candea," it being the capital of the kingdom to which they applied that name.

with a little biscuit and their arms, and said to his men[1] :— " You see well, brave soldiers and comrades mine, the urgent advice that we have received ; wherefore another instant determination is necessary to save our lives ; and nothing better has suggested itself to me than this, to rid ourselves of encumbrances, and march with our arms in our hands in the direction of Triquinimalle[2], in order thence to proceed to Cota, where we have a friendly king[3], because if we return to the fleet I fear we may find the roads occupied, and that all will be our enemies, while in the other direction we have a king who is sure to receive us and entertain us very well ; wherefore remember, that the life of each one lies in the defence of his own arms and hands (apart from those of God, which are those that must defend and deliver us in this journey) ; wherefore, follow me ;" and taking his matchlock on his shoulder he proceeded to march out of the city.

The king of Candea, who continued to dissemble, waiting for them in order, after they had been received and dispersed, to carry out on them the treachery, as soon as he had word of the determination of Antonio Moniz Barreto, and of what he had done, knew well that he had been warned, and suspecting that it was by the friars at once ordered them to be seized, and in great haste dispatched some *mòdeliares* with a large force to go after our people, which they did ; and making haste they encountered them already a good distance beyond the city ; and attacking them with great determination at several points, Antonio Moniz Barreto did not relinquish his march at the same pace at which he had been going, placing himself in the rearguard for the better security of his men ; giving orders for the matchlocks to be discharged in such fashion that the firing never ceased, so that they might thus proceed while keeping the enemy at bay, as they did. And so they went marching the whole day with much difficulty, not having time to rest for a moment, or to eat, only munching the dry biscuit, and fighting. As soon as night fell they had a little respite, and went on continually marching, but with less trouble ; for although the enemy continued to pursue them it was more slackly ; but as soon as it dawned they once more

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[1] This address, of course, is imaginary. Jacinto Freire de Andrade, in his *Vida de D. João de Castro*, invents a totally different one.

[2] There is a palpable error here ; but what name should take the place of " Triquinimalle " I cannot say (see *infra*, p.130, note [2]).

[3] Freire de Andrade (*op. cit.*) has " the king of Ceitavaca, a faithful friend of the state's " ! (Previously he speaks of " Madune, king of Cotta " !)

pressed upon them with great determination, because they received so many accessions that they exceeded eight thousand.

Our people seeing that it was necessary for them to defend their lives, and that they could not obtain help from any quarter, all did such great things, that words would fail to exaggerate them ; for many times they came to hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy, and yet they always got off with slight wounds, there remaining in their hands on one occasion as prisoner a *modeliar*, at which Antonio Moniz Barreto was greatly pleased, and ordered him to be brought along in the midst, in order to make use of him when it should be necessary.

From this *modeliar* he learnt that the enemy intended to attack him at a bridge that was ahead, where all our men were bound to come into their hands, the passage being very narrow. This caused no fear to Antonio Moniz Barreto or to any of the others, except a Galician, who filled with the fear of death and desirous of saving his life began making long speeches, and resolved to give himself up to the enemy ; and as he could do it in no other way, he pretended to be exhausted, letting himself fall on the ground as if dead, and saying that he could go no further. Antonio Moniz Barreto, since he sought not only to escape from the enemy, but also not to lose a single man, went and encouraged the Galician with kind words, telling him that the worst was now past, that God who had delivered them so far would do so for the rest of the way. The Galician replied, that he could go no further either with his arms or without them, and to leave him there to die. Antonio Moniz Barreto made him rise, and took his matchlock from him, and put it on his own shoulder, and likewise everything else that might encumber him, and placed him in the midst of the soldiers, and made him walk ; but as he already had death pictured in his imagination, causing him great paroxysms of terror, he again fell to the earth, feigning to be dead. Antonio Moniz Barreto, who had kept his eye on him, at once hastened to raise him up, but he refused, saying that he must leave him, that he would not go further.

Antonio Moniz Barreto, knowing that this was despair begotten of fear, told a soldier to cut off his legs, or to kill him at once, as he did not wish that the enemy should afterwards say that they had captured one of his Portuguese. But when the soldier went to do this, the Galician jumped up as lively and active as if he had never experienced any fatigue, and began to march in the midst of them all. The enemy never left our people, but kept their distance, because the matchlock

fire had wrought great havoc among them ; for since they were sure that the affair would be finished at the passage of the bridge they did not wish to risk themselves ; but from a distance they showered clouds of arrows upon our men, by which almost all of them were hurt. In this wise they reached the bridge, where the enemy attacked our men furiously ; and such was the condition of affairs, that they considered themselves lost.

Here Antonio Moniz Barreto played the part of an experienced captain and brave soldier, doing such deeds with his arm, as also all his comrades, that they ridded themselves of the enemy, who had got even inside their ranks.

Here a sudden and fortunate idea came to Antonio Moniz Barreto, namely, to cut off the legs of the *modeliar* whom they held prisoner, who was a leading personage ; and to leave him in the road, in order that the enemy should occupy themselves with him, which they did[1] ; for following after our men they came upon the *modeliar* in that state, and stopped to raise him and send him to be cared for. Of this little space of time and road our people took advantage in such fashion, that they reached the bridge, though followed by some. Antonio Moniz Barreto as soon as he gained it placed himself in the rearguard with the strongest, and ordered the rest to pass over, they keeping the enemy back with matchlock fire, whilst the others passed over a few at a time ; and this they did with infinite trouble, those that were already on the other side keeping the passage clear with their harquebuses, which played incessantly. Antonio Moniz Barreto, when he got to the other side, ordered part of the bridge to be destroyed, so that the enemy should not follow him, because that river was so deep that it could not be forded in any part. In this way our people were freed from trouble, and went marching without hindrance to Triquinimalle[2] ; and thence they proceeded to Ceitavaca, where that king received them and entertained them very well, ordering them to be given everything they needed[3].

Now let Titus Livius glorify his Decius, who when he was besieged on Mount Gaurus by the Samnites sallied forth in the night with a few Romans through the midst of the enemy,

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[1] Freire de Andrade says that the prisoner's legs were broken.

[2] Here the error is repeated. Perhaps we should read "Ruanelle" (Ruvanvẹlla). The river that had to be crossed may have been the Ritigaha-oya at Kannattoṭa.

[3] Máyádunné was at this time playing a double part ; but he soon threw off the mask.

escaping with all of them[1]: yet though we have not such a wealth of words or so eloquent a style to embellish this deed, by itself it is such, that told thus without additional adornment it is seen how much it surpasses that of his Decius; since this captain did not sally forth by night amongst the enemy, when the darkness would make the hostile army appear much larger to the Samnites, but in full daylight, and through the midst of the enemy's city, surrounded on all sides, breaking through the midst of them, it being plainly visible that they were only one hundred and twenty; and not for the space of half-an-hour, but for three whole days, without losing one of his comrades[2].

In the conversations that he had with Antonio Moniz Barreto, Madune gave him to understand that his brother the king of Cota had induced the king of Candea to kill him with all the other Portuguese; and that he wished to show how much more a servant of the king of Portugal's he was than all the other kings of that island, placing himself at his service for all that he might require. Antonio Moniz Barreto returned his compliments, and took leave of him, the *modeliares* persuading the king to kill him and all the Portuguese, which he was unwilling to do, however much it were a matter of relief and import to him. Antonio Moniz Barreto reached Columbo, where in a few days there arrived ambassadors from Candea, by whom that king sent word to Antonio Moniz Barreto that he was very repentant at having taken the counsel of Madune, who had got him to commit that folly, and sent him the bases that had been left there, and ten thousand *pardaos* in silver to divide amongst the soldiers. And he wrote to the friars of St. Francis, whom Antonio Moniz Barreto had taken with him, to return to him, as he wished to fulfil his word, and become a Christian: to which Antonio Moniz Barreto would not consent until he had gone and given a report to the governor; and when the season came he embarked for Goa[3].

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[1] Livy VII. 32.

[2] Correa says that more than thirty of the Portuguese were killed (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 253).

[3] In September 1547, apparently; for in VI. v. vi. Couto mentions him as leaving Goa at the end of that month or beginning of October with the viceroy for Guzerat. Correa has a curious story about Antonio Moniz, which may be one of his fictions (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 253). It will be noticed that Couto fails to tell us what became of the ships and men left at Batecalou. They probably made their way to Columbo when the weather served.

DEC. VI., BK. VIII., CHAP. iii.

...... *of how the king of Cota sent to ask him*[1] *for help against Madune.*

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Not many days had elapsed since the governor's arrival[2], when there came to him an ambassador from the king of Cota, who as vassal of the king of Portugal sent to beg him earnestly to help him, as he was in the utmost danger of losing his kingdom: because his brother Madune, king of Ceitavaca, had taken from him the greater part of it, and had besieged him in the city of Cota, where he was in great danger of perishing[3]; that that kingdom was his grandson's, to whom the king of Portugal had conceded it, and had proclaimed him in the city of Lisbon as heir to it, and that Madune wished to deprive him of it: wherefore he begged him to help him with a large force, and he would at once give ten thousand cruzados' worth of pepper[4] for the loading of a ship to Portugal, which he would deliver to the captain-major who should go there; and that he would also give as tribute one hundred and fifty *bares* of cinnamon, besides the three hundred that he already paid[5], and that he would at once give ten elephants for the service of the dockyards of the fleets of the king of Portugal.

Having heard the ambassador, the governor brought these matters before a council of the captains and fidalgos, all of whom agreed that help should be given to that king, not only because he was a vassal of the king of Portugal's, and because of the terms that he offered, but also to prevent Madune's becoming ruler of the whole island, whereby he would give great trouble to the state, and the king of Portugal would lose the profits that he got from it.

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[1] The governor, Jorge Cabral, 1549–50.

[2] At Cochin, in November 1549.

[3] The *Rájávaliya* tells us nothing of this, there being a deplorable hiatus in that chronicle of some ten years, 1540–1 to 1550, the only events during that time recorded being an attack by Jayavíra on Máyádunné's territories in the Four Kóraḷés, his defeat by the minister Árya, and the conclusion of peace on his paying an indemnity (*Rájáv.* 81). The paragraph relating these occurrences is entirely out of its proper place, and I do not know to what year they refer. (The events are also recorded by Valentyn, *Ceylon* 76.)

[4] This is the first mention of pepper from Ceylon (*cf. supra*, p. 117). On the importance of pepper as an article of trade in the sixteenth century see my "Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese," pp. 287–8.

[5] See *supra*, V. I. v., p. 73.

This having been settled, the governor chose for that expedition Dom Jorge de Crasto his uncle, his mother's brother, and gave him six hundred men, among whom were many fidalgos and knights; and ordered the ships to be got ready that he was to take, for the expense of which the ambassador at once gave the ten thousand cruzados that he had offered. The governor ordered to make haste with the fleet and the ships, all of which he determined to dispatch at the beginning of January.

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Dec. VI., Bk. viii., Chap. iv.

Of another message that the governor Jorge Cabral received from Ceilaõ from the prince of Candea: and of how Dom Jorge de Crasto left for Ceilaõ.

The ships [for Portugal] having been dispatched[1], the governor hurried on the preparations of the fleet of Dom Jorge in order to dispatch it soon. And when it was just ready, there came to him letters from the fathers of St. Francis who were in the kingdom of Candea, in which they begged him to send a force in support of the prince of that kingdom, as he wished to become a Christian. And since it is necessary to give some account of this prince, we shall do so. This king of Candea had a legitimate son, called Caralea Bandar[2], who was heir to the throne. This prince managed to get his father to release the friars of St. Francis (whom he had imprisoned when Antonio Moniz Barreto went to that kingdom, as we have related above, in the eighth chapter of the fourth book), and who formed so great a friendship with Frey Pascoal, who was their commissary, that this father proposed to him to become a Christian, preaching to him many times on the matters of our faith, to which he became inclined and well disposed, in such manner that all that he needed was to receive the water of holy baptism[3]. Of this his father was informed, and resolved to kill his son, and to give the kingdom to another bastard son that he had, called Comarsinga Adasana[4], for

[1] The last one left Goa on 10 January 1550.

[2] Karalliyeddé Kumára Bañdára (*Rájáv.* 82).

[3] In VIII. iii. (pp. 233–4) we read of this prince, who had then (1565) succeeded to the throne of Kandy, that he was a Christian, and was named Dom João.

[4] Kumárasiñha Adahasin. The *Rájávaliya* does not mention this prince.

whom he wished every good. Of this the prince heard rumours, or received information, from someone in his father's house. And desiring to escape from his anger, he took with him the friars, and betook himself to a mountain in the kingdom of Huná[1], and with a large force that followed him waged war against his father from there[2].

Of all these things the fathers informed the governor in those letters that they sent to him, begging him to send and help that prince against his father, who wished to deprive him of the kingdom and give it to another, because he desired to become a Christian. This the governor highly approved of, and gave orders to Dom Jorge de Crasto, that when he had done with the affairs of Ceitavaca he was to proceed to the kingdom of Candea, and chastise that king for the treachery that he had shown towards Antonio Moniz Barreto.

This fleet set out at the beginning of January of this year 1550, upon which with God's favour we enter; and of the captains and chief persons that took part in this expedition we know the names of none; but of their fleet we shall give an account further on. . . . . . .

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DEC. VI., BK. VIII., CHAP. VI.

Of the dissimulation with which the king of Candea sent to ask Dom Jorge de Crasto for fathers that he might become a Christian: and of how he sent him two, and with them the French captain: and of what happened to them on the journey.

Dom Jorge de Crasto having left Cochim, as we have related above in the third chapter of this eighth book, arrived at Columbo at the end of the same month of January [1550], and having disembarked his troops commenced to march to Cota. Madune, who with his whole force was attacking that city, on receiving the news that our fleet had arrived at Columbo with a large body of men to help his brother, raised his camp and retired to Ceitavaca, leaving the *tranqueiras*[3] on the roads garrisoned with many troops to guard the passes against our

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[1] Read "Huvá," *i.e.*, Úva. This is the first occurrence of the name.

[2] The *Rájávaliya* version of this family quarrel is very different, it being there (82) attributed to a *mésalliance* formed by Jayavíṛa after the death of his queen. Valentyn (*Ceylon* 78) has a rather fuller version, which supports Couto in his statement that the king wished to supplant Karalliyeddé Baṇḍára by a son of the second marriage.

[3] Regarding these fortresses see next chapter.

men if they should attempt to get to Ceitavaca. Dom Jorge reached Cota, and was heartily welcomed by that king; and they at once resolved to go together against Madune, and not to withdraw from that business until they had utterly destroyed him, in order to give no further trouble to the state with succours and fleets in aid of his brother, who was a vassal of the king of Portugal's. For the expedition the king began to collect his forces and arrange for the things necessary in the way of provisions and servants for the whole army. The report of the fleet of Dom Jorge de Crasto and of his arrival at Columbo soon spread over the whole island.

The king of Candea, as he was guilty in the matter of Antonio Moniz Barreto, began to tremble, and to fear that they wished to chastise him for the faults that he had committed; and as he was a man of great cunning and malice he determined to temporize with Dom Jorge de Crasto and deceive him, until he should see how matters tended between Madune and his brother, and to this end he at once dispatched ambassadors to visit him. These ambassadors found Dom Jorge de Crasto still in Cota, getting ready for the expedition to Ceitavaca. Dom Jorge de Crasto ordered them to be taken before the king, where he heard them, and they told him that the king of Candea had sent them to visit him and to offer himself for everything that might be of service to the king of Portugal. That he would have him know that in the affair of Antonio Moniz Barreto, in which he did not deny being guilty, there were nevertheless sufficient matters of satisfaction for it to be forgiven. That his cousin Madune had disturbed his mind and drawn him away from the desire that he had had of becoming a Christian, putting before his eyes fears and the loss of his kingdom, and the rebellion of his subjects owing to a change of law; and that he had repented of his past conduct, since he had always been inclined to the law of the Christians, as the friars always knew of him; that he was firmly resolved to become a Christian; that he earnestly begged him to send him some friars to settle this with him; and that he also wished to be reconciled to his son; and that thus he hoped little by little to move his vassals to become Christians. Dom Jorge de Crasto was much pleased with that embassy, and at once set about to satisfy that king, sending with the ambassadors two friars of St. Francis, and with them the French captain[1]

[1] In VI. ix. xiv. Couto, describing the siege of the fortress of Catifa by the Portuguese in 1551, says that all the ditches and entrenchments were made by order and according to the plan of this officer, "whom the king Dom João had sent to India on account of his being a man who had much knowledge and practice of warfare."

and twelve soldiers, and ordered them to go by way of Negumbo[1], so as to avoid the territories of Madune.

The ambassadors having left with our people, they went pursuing their journey, not escaping some conflicts with forces of Madune's, in which our folk ran great risk and danger, but God delivered them from all by the valour of their arms, and thus with great trouble they reached Candea. The king received them very well, and ordered the friars to be lodged in the same hermitage that the former ones had built[2], which was still standing, and the French captain and his soldiers near to them, ordering all necessaries to be given to them. The friars began to make some Christians, thinking that the king also had a mind thereto, which he had not, as he was wicked and perverse, and fear made him pretend it, so long as he did not know what was passing between Dom Jorge de Crasto and Madune, whom he favoured in secret; and so he took such care of and had such an eye on the French captain and the friars, that he did not allow them to go beyond a certain limit, keeping spies in Ceitavaca, in order to be advised each day of all that passed there.

DEC. VI., BK. VIII., CHAP. VII.

Of how the king of Cota and Dom Jorge de Crasto set out for Ceitavaca: and of the sieges of the forts that they met with on this march: and of how they took them, and routed Madune, and captured from him the city of Ceitavaca.

After the king of Cota had collected his forces and arranged for the things necessary for the expedition, he set out on the march, Dom Jorge de Crasto going in the van with all the Portuguese, and the king with five thousand men in the rear-guard[3]. Thus they marched the whole of the day until they reached a very large *tranqueira*, on a pass that lay between the

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[1] This place here makes its first appearance.

[2] See *supra*, p. 125.

[3] The *Rájávaliya* (78) briefly records the events described in this chapter, in a couple of paragraphs that are quite out of their proper order. It also tells us that they occurred after Bhuvaneka Báhu had reigned for twenty years, whereas they actually took place sixteen years after the king's accession.

Matual river[1] and a lake of such size, that it is asserted to be five leagues in circumference, which lay two leagues from the port of Columbo[2]. In this place (because there was no other passage to Ceitavaca) Madune had built this fortress, which was of wood, of two faces, with very broad fillings, and stood on the north[3] side of the river; and in the face that looked towards Cota the curtain of the wall was thirty fathoms in length, and in the point that lay towards the river was a fine bastion with many pieces of artillery. From this bastion to the lake extended a very dense bamboo forest, for the space of half a league, so intricate that even the wild beasts could not penetrate it. From end to end along the outer face of this fort ran a fine, broad ditch, which was filled with water from the lake, and which was crossed by a drawbridge[4].

The army having arrived here, they pitched their camp at some distance from the fort, and held a council as to the mode of attack; and it was resolved that it should be at the angles of the wall, for which purpose they made large wooden bridges on wheels, and several strong mantelets, and ladders, this occupying two or three days. And when all was ready one day at dawn our people attacked the fort at one part, and the king at another. And running the bridges over in spite of the storm of bombard and matchlock shots that rained upon them, they set up the ladders against the wall, and our men climbing up them leaped over it, and by force of cuts and blows forced their way inside, where they had a very great battle with the enemy, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. The king of Cota and his people, likewise after several losses, entered the *tranqueira*, on which the enemy began to be put to the rout, and abandoned it completely, Dom Jorge de Crasto ordering it to be at once set fire to, by which it was entirely consumed. They passed that day in that place, and sent to Cota those that needed healing (who were many).

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[1] This is the first time the Kelani river is mentioned. Further on in this chapter Couto (p.139) gives it its proper name. The name Matual (which still survives in Mutwal) was applied by the Portuguese to the river under a misapprehension, arising from their hearing its mouth spoken of by the Tamils as Muhatuváram (Módara).

[2] The lake referred to is evidently that of Mulleriyáva, and the site of the stockade was probably near Am̃batalé.

[3] This must be a mistake for "south."

[4] The formation of the fortress is not very clear from this description.

Next day they went on marching until they reached the other *tranqueira*, called that of Maluana[1], of the same plan and make as the former. And our troops attacking it at one part, and the king at another, it was entered and captured, though with many dangers and deaths on our side, and with the loss of more than six hundred of the enemy, who abandoned it.

On the following day they marched upon the other *tranqueira*, two leagues from this one, called Grubabilem[2], which was larger and stronger than the others, on account of being near the city of Ceitavaca. The curtain of the wall that ran along the front was larger and thicker than those of the ones they had passed. At each point it had two very large bastions, and on the wall many watch-towers very well provided with men and munitions. On the side facing the river, which was the same Matual, ran a dense bamboo forest, and on the other a very impenetrable jungle. Here in this *tranqueira* were the forces of Madune, though he was in the city. This *tranqueira* was attacked with very great determination, and in this attack there were many wonderful feats, which we do not particularize as we do not know the names of those who performed them ; but as a result of the affair the *tranqueira* was captured, though with loss on our side, and in it they remained that day resting from their fatigue and tending the wounded, who were many in number.

Next day they proceeded to march to Ceitavaca, which lay two leagues[3] in front, and on the road they met Madune with all his forces. And joining battle (which was severe and cruel and with much loss), Madune was conquered and routed, and went fleeing to the mountains of Dinavaca[4], leaving the city in the hands of our people, who entered it as victors.

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[1] If this is correct, the allied forces must have crossed the river, though Couto does not tell us so. (Perhaps Kaḍuvela is meant.) Malvána became later on a Portuguese position (see p. 405, note [1]).

[2] Gurubẹvila (modern Hanvẹlla), where, according to the *Rájávaliya* (78), the Portuguese in 1539 defeated Máyádunné and his Moorish allies (see *supra*, p. 107, note [1]). As this is on the south of the Kẹlani river, the mention of Malvána previously must be an error. In 1595–7 D. Jeronimo de Azevedo erected a fort at Gurubẹvila (see *infra*, p. 405).

[3] This is an under-statement.

[4] According to the *Rájávaliya* (78), Máyádunné, after preparing his palace for the entry of his brother, left with his household and forces for Baṭugedara (Ratnapura District), which, we see from Couto's statement, lay in the old territory of Dinavaka (see *supra*, p. 34, note [3]).

This city is very large[1], and is situated amidst four mountain ranges, and this same Matual river (which by another name is called the Calane) divides it in the midst[2], which comes from the confines of the kingdom of Candea. On the south side on an eminence is the king's palace, which is built in the form of a handsome fortress, with its walls very thick and strong, and one ascends to it by twenty very wide and large steps. The fortress is square, and in each side it has three gates for service ; on this side lies half the city, and on the other to the north the other half ; and in this part is the most superb and sumptuous *pagode*[3] that exists in the whole island, which is dedicated to an idol of theirs called Paramisura[4]. The architecture of this *pagode* is strange[5], and it is asserted that nearly twenty years were expended on it, more than two thousand workmen being employed on it continuously.

Our people having entered the city, the king took up his residence in his brother's palace, where he found many valuables ; and Dom Jorge de Crasto with his soldiers in that part of the city, which was put to the sack by our men, who found much gold, drugs, and wares of all sorts, with which they loaded themselves well. Then they passed over to the other side, and did the same, without touching the *pagodes*, as Dom Jorge de Crasto had ordered them for the sake of the king of Cota, who sent and placed guards over them[6]. And the king's people were the ones that stole most, because like house robbers they dug and disinterred much treasure. Madune, who had retired to the mountains of Dinavaca, seeing himself beaten and routed, and his brother master of his city, thought to employ his guile, and sent to the king his brother and to Dom Jorge de Crasto his ambassadors, who entered Ceitavaca and were conducted to the king, who heard them in the presence of Dom Jorge de Crasto[7].

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[1] Compare what follows with Bell's *Rep. on Kẹg. Dist.* 62–5, and the sketch plan there given.

[2] It was actually the Sítávaka-gaṅga, a tributary of the Kẹlani-gaṅga, that divided the city.

[3] The Bẹreṇḍi Kóvil (see Bell's *Rep.* 63–5 and plates).

[4] Paramesṣvara (supreme lord), a title of Ṣiva, of whom Máyádunné was a worshipper.

[5] Or "foreign." As a fact, Bẹreṇḍi Kóvil is modified Dravidian in style (see Bell's *Rep.* 65).

[6] The Bẹreṇḍi Kóvil was not so fortunate in the following year, when the avaricious viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha entered Sítávaka (see *infra*, p. 152).

[7] The *Rájávaliya* is silent regarding this embassy.

They told him, that his brother Madune sent to beg mercy of him, and that he fully confessed that he had committed many faults, for which he had already been well chastised, and had repented of them ; that he besought him earnestly to be reconciled to him, and that he was ready to give him all the satisfaction necessary. The king, who was a man of very good heart and nature (a rare thing in this Chingalá nation[1]), touched with the miseries of his brother, and believing that he would never more attempt against him his evil designs, said to Dom Jorge de Crasto that he wished for peace with his brother, if it appeared good to him. Dom Jorge de Crasto answered that in this matter he might do what he thought well, and what would be best for himself and for the quiet of the kingdom. Upon this the king dispatched the ambassadors, by whom he sent word to his brother telling him to come to Ceitavaca, that there they might be reconciled and make peace, sending him a surety on his own account, and another from Dom Jorge de Crasto. Madune at once went, accompanied by some *modeliares* of high rank ; and on arriving at Ceitavaca his brother received him very kindly, embracing him with much affection and good-will (there being nothing of this in Madune), and in the presence of Dom Jorge de Crasto they were reconciled, and made peace with the following conditions :—

That never more should Madune make war on his brother, and that he should deliver up to him all the territories that he had taken from him. And that he should at once pay to Dom Jorge de Crasto one hundred thousand *pagodes* for the expenses of that fleet, since he was the cause of the war. And that for the expedition to Candea he should supply all the servants and provisions necessary for payment. And that the king of Cota should be obliged to give him three thousand men to accompany him on it.

Having made these contracts, both the kings concluded peace according to their mode, continuing there in great friendship[2]. Dom Jorge de Crasto began to get ready to proceed to Candea, as he had been ordered ; and if that king should have become a Christian, he was to consider the expedition well undertaken, and to help him against his subjects if they should attempt any disturbance, and also reconcile him to his son ; and if not, he was to chastise him for his past faults. And he

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[1] Compare Couto's sweeping condemnation of the Sinhalese in V. I. v. (p. 66), and his description of Bhuvaneka Báhu's character in V. V. viii. (p. 106).

[2] All the preceding, as well as what follows, is entirely passed over by the *Rájávaliya*.

began to press those kings for the things that they were under obligation to give him. Madune at once complied with the hundred thousand *pagodes* that he owed, with which Dom Jorge de Crasto made two payments to the soldiers, and he also furnished him with the provisions and servants that he needed.

The king of Cota, as he was a great friend of the Portuguese, because of the many obligations he was under to them, understanding and knowing the malice of the king of Candea, and that all the things he had said were inventions caused by the fear that he was in, wished to dissuade Dom Jorge de Crasto from that expedition, putting before him the many obstacles, and assuring him that the expedition was one of great risk and peril, because of the difficult passes that lay in the road. And that although that king was his first cousin[1], he was under far greater obligations to the Portuguese than to him; that he assured him that he did not consider it safe to trust him, and that on every occasion that he found time and opportunity he was certain to plan against him all the treachery that he could. Dom Jorge de Crasto thanked him for that counsel; but as he was bound by the governor's order he did not like to be induced to do anything outside of it, and he therefore asked him for the troops that he had promised, which he at once gave him.

And when all was ready he set out at the beginning of April [1550], taking leave of those kings: and the king of Cota at the same time left for his kingdom. Dom Jorge went making his daily marches, of which the king of Candea was advised each day. And fearing that Dom Jorge de Crasto having entered his kingdom with that force would seize and chastise him, not wishing to be at his mercy, he collected forty thousand men, and fortified his city, with the intention of preventing his entry, keeping strict watch therein. And one night there was an alarm that our people were already within a league of the city; and the king having hastened at that report with all his troops to await him at the entrance to it, it pleased our Lord that the French captain (who, with his soldiers, was, as it were, under detention) had opportunity to escape, and in the darkness of the night went walking along, until he reached Dom Jorge de Crasto, who with his army was encamped at a league from the city, in order to enter it next day; and having reported to him the manner in which the king was waiting for him, and of the large force that he had, and of how all his professions were inventions, Dom Jorge was dumbfoundered, and

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[1] See *supra*, p. 124.

immediately called a council of the captains, and before them all heard once more the French captain's report. Having all heard this, they voted that they ought at once to retire, as they were thirty leagues within the heart of the island, and many narrow and difficult passes had to be passed through; and that if that king should attack them they had not sufficient forces to fight him. With this resolution they at once raised the camp and retired in great haste but in very good order.

In the morning the king of Candea received word of their retreat, and sallying forth with all his army he followed after them by devious roads, and getting in front waited for them in some very narrow and difficult passes; and attacking them in those narrows where our men could not turn round, they continued shooting them down with firelocks and arrows, without our people's having any shelter or defence. Dom Jorge de Crasto and the fidalgos and captains were unable to govern their men, because as they all went in single file and broken up, and at a great distance one from the other, they could not help them, nor had they any to do the same for them, they running the same risk, and being all of them wounded. Thus they proceeded fighting until they got out of the territories of Candea, where they got quit of them, seven hundred men having been killed and lost in those jungles, among whom were four hundred Portuguese, the rest being native Christians and people of Cota; and all the others that escaped suffering from many wounds[1]. And as they went marching through the territories of Madune, there came out to meet them a *modeliar* of his with five hundred men, and informed Dom Jorge de Crasto that Madune begged them to come to Ceitavaca, and was waiting to give him everything needful[2].

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[1] This was the first of many such disastrous expeditions of the Portuguese. In *Primor e Honra*, pt. iv. cap. 1 (108–9) the author says:—"Women gave their lives to many Portuguese who escaped from the rout of Dom Jorge de Castro in the island of Seylão in the kingdom of Candea, where there were some who to save the Portuguese from death offered themselves thereto." The writer may have been one of those that accompanied the expedition. Curiously enough, Couto, who has given us the foregoing details regarding Jayavíra which the *Rájávaliya* omits, now drops all further reference to that king, and not until 1565 do we hear of Kandy again, when Jayavíra's son was reigning (see pp. 233–4). Jayavíra's expulsion from Kandy by his son, and his reception as a refugee by Máyádunné, are recorded by the *Rjávaliya* (82); but when these occurred, and when he died, does not appear.

[2] Correa tells a similar story in connection with the retreat of Antonio Moniz Barreto in 1547, which he has probably confused with this one (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 253).

Dom Jorge de Crasto made a show of being very grateful for this; and as he was prudent he well understood the malice of Madune, and told the *modeliar* that he would do so. And as soon as it was night, and he had encamped in a place at some distance from the *modeliar*, after having made it secure, he decamped, and took the road to Cota by ways far removed from Ceitavaca, leaving in the camp thirty badly wounded men, who could not walk. Next morning the *modeliar* arose, and found the camp vacant, and taking the baggage that he found there and the wounded men, he went to Ceitavaca. Madune ordered all the Portuguese to be decapitated, telling them that he intended to do the same to the captain and to all of them. This was learnt afterwards from one of them, who managed to escape, and hid himself, and some days later arrived at Cota. Dom Jorge pursued his way in great haste, and met the king of Cota with all his men, who had come to seek him, as he had already been informed of the disaster that had occurred, and that he had foretold. On seeing the king, Dom Jorge de Crasto was relieved, and thanked him heartily for that succour, and accompanied him to Cota, where the king lodged all the Portuguese, and tended them and gave them every necessary. Dom Jorge when he was healed left for Columbo, and at the beginning of September went across to Cochim, where he arrived a little before the governor Jorge Cabral[1].

Dec. VI., Bk. ix., Chap. i.

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The ships[2] passed the Cape of Good Hope almost at the same time. ...... The viceroy[3] and Dom Alvaro de Tayde[4], without sighting each other, took their course outside of the

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[1] The end of D. Jorge de Castro was a sad one. In 1563 he was appointed captain of Cochin, and in 1571 he was captain of Chalé when it was besieged by the samuri of Calicut with an enormous force. After bravely defending the fort with his small body of Portuguese for four months, Dom Jorge was compelled by famine to capitulate. For this he was, by royal command, in 1574 imprisoned and tried, and sentenced to death, the sentence being carried out in spite of his past services and great age (eighty years). Couto (IX. xxvi.) describes the general horror felt at this event.

[2] Of the outward-bound fleet of 1550.

[3] D. Affonso de Noronha, who was proceeding to India to succeed Jorge Cabral. His ship was the *S. Pedro*.

[4] A son of Vasco da Gama's; he was going out as captain of Malacca.

island of Saõ Lourenço, and encountered many dangers and difficulties, which caused the death of some of the men; and attempting to make the coast of India in October, the easters took them on the bow, in such fashion, that the viceroy was compelled to fall off to Ceilaõ, ... As soon as the viceroy sighted land his pilot said that it was the coast of India; but Joaõ Rebello da Lima, a famous pilot who was going as a passenger, said that the land that was seen was Columbo and Ceilaõ. The pilot began to contend stoutly that it was the coast of India; and whilst they were in this uncertainty there came a boat and informed the viceroy that the land that was visible was Columbo. The pilot on hearing this, as he had been considered the best on that course, was so mortified that he retired to his cabin, and in three days died of vexation.

The viceroy gave orders to steer for Columbo, and anchored outside. Those on land recognizing that it was a ship from the kingdom, there put out to it speedily several vessels that had remained there of the fleet of Dom Jorge de Crasto; and learning that it was the viceroy, they at once sent word to Cota to the king and to Gaspar d'Azevedo[1] the *alcaide mór*[2], who quickly hastened to Columbo, the king coming with a very large retinue, and ordering the viceroy to be visited and supplied with plenty of provisions and some pieces [of jewelry]. The viceroy learnt from Gaspar d'Azevedo what had happened shortly before to Dom Jorge de Crasto (as we have related in the seventh chapter of the eighth book), and of the wars that Madune had waged against his brother; and hearing that the king was in Columbo, he disembarked in the vessels, and went on shore to see him, being accompanied by all the fidalgos and people from his ship; and he repaired to Santo Antonio, the monastery of the minorite friars[3], whither the king went to see him, there passing between them great compliments.

There the king gave him an account of his affairs, and begged him that, as he was a vassal of the king of Portugal's, he would so arrange matters as to secure that kingdom against his brother, who treated him badly and desired to kill him.

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[1] He came to India as captain of one of the ships of the fleet of 1536.

[2] According to the *Tombo do Est. da Ind.* (240) he combined this office with that of factor. When he was appointed, I do not know. To Pero Vaz Travassos and Manuel de Queirós (see *supra*, p. 74, note [3]) seem to have succeeded Duarte Teixeira and Antonio Pessoa (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 236, 237); and Gaspar de Azevedo probably came next.

[3] Franciscans. This is the first mention of a monastery in Columbo. The exact position of this building I do not know.

The viceroy answered him that he had had that strictly enjoined upon him, and that the first thing to engage his attention would be that; and in return for this he asked him for a loan of two hundred thousand *pardáos*, from which the king excused himself, telling him that there had been great expense on account of the wars, and that shortly before he had spent more than seventy thousand *pardáos* with Dom Jorge de Crasto. The viceroy was not very pleased; and taking leave of him embarked; and the king gave him to send to the queen[1] by those ships the following pieces [of jewelry]:—A large gold collar with pearls and rubies and three crosses of precious stones at the lower part and a large pearl below; another collar with rubies, one large one in the middle; another gold collar with several rubies and catseyes, and in the middle a large catseye surrounded by rubies; three bracelets of gold and precious stones; a large ring with a catseye surrounded by rubies; a beautiful catseye unset: all of which was given in charge of the factor of the fleet, and went that year to the kingdom. The viceroy also took his trinkets; and before setting sail, there came to see him a son of Madune's[2] the king of Ceitavaca, and what passed with the viceroy is not known.

The king of Cota, seeing how the viceroy left him displeased, sent after him one Bragmane Pandito[3] with fifteen thousand *pardáos*, which he sent him as a present[4]. ......

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Dom Alvaro de Tayde da Gama, captain of the galleon *Saõ Joaõ*, who made landfall at Pegù, after taking in water and provisions, set sail for India, and came to land at the Point of Galé, where he cast anchor, it being the beginning of November, and there he disembarked in order to have his sick cured, because there were Portuguese there and friars of St. Francis with a small house[5]. There he remained the whole

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[1] Of Portugal.

[2] This was probably the "Barbinhas" referred to by Couto in X. vii. xiii. (see p. 273, note [1], and *cf.* p. 242, note [4]).

[3] Who this Bráhman pandit was I do not know.

[4] Correa (iv. 725) says:—"The viceroy Dom Affonso, through the faulty navigation that was kept on his voyage, being separated from the other ships made landfall in Ceylão at the end of October, where he at once occupied himself in some things to his profit, as I shall tell further on. And he left Ceylão, ..." As Correa does not appear to have written more than the four volumes, his promise was never fulfilled.

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 124. This is the first mention of a Portuguese settlement at Galle.

of the month of November, without taking any notice of the many requests made to him by Manoel de Crasto, on behalf of Diogo de Crasto, whose the galleon was. When the month had passed he re-embarked, and came to Cochim on the 13th of December, ...

DEC. VI., BK. IX., CHAP. XVI.

Of the war that Madune again made on the king of Cota: and of how this king was killed by accident: ...... and of how the viceroy Dom Afonso de Noronha left for Ceilaõ.

We have above, in the seventh chapter of the eighth book, related how Madune, king of Ceitavaca in Ceilaõ, after seeing himself routed by Dom Jorge de Crasto, was reconciled to his brother the king of Cota by force of necessity; but as the hatred that he bore towards him was deadly, he dissembled as long as the summer[1] lasted. And as soon as the winter began, having assembled his armies, he marched against his brother in order to destroy him once for all[2] (it being the season in which he could receive no help from India). The king of Cota, as soon as he received advice of this, having collected his troops, sent his son-in-law Tribuly Pandar[3], and with him Gaspar d'Azevedo, factor and *alcaide mór*, and all the Portuguese, who would be nearly one hundred, in order to meet Madune, who had already entered his kingdom. Tribuly Pandar went in search of Madune, who was going along committing great ravages, and had some encounters with him, in which he killed some of his men, and forced him to retire to the other side of the Calane river, where he encamped his army, Tribuly Pandar with his remaining on this side.

The king of Cota learning that his father[4] was there left Cota and went to the army to see it; and as ill-luck would have it, while the Portuguese were in a very large verandah eating,

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[1] That is, the hot season, September 1550 to April 1551.

[2] The *Rájávaliya* (79) erroneously says that it was "after the lapse of many years" that "Máyádunné once more disturbed the peace of the districts which belonged to Kóṭṭe." This statement is due to the misplacement of events of which I have spoken.

[3] This is the first occasion on which we hear of this man's taking an active part in state affairs. The *Rájávaliya* does not mention him in connection with these events.

[4] There is an obvious error here: for "his father" we must read either "the father of his grandson," or "his son-in-law."

he came to a window on the outer wall[1] to see them; and while there a firelock shot struck him in the head, so that he immediately fell dead, without its being known whence it came[2]; and all rushing in confusion found the king dead[3], and Tribuly having taken the body went with it to Cota. The army having decamped, after they had performed the funeral ceremonies they placed Prince Dramabella on the royal throne, and proclaimed him king, the grandees doing him obeisance after their manner, his father being the first, and then the *alcaide mór*, and all the great men of the kingdom; which took place the same day, without any festivities or pageantry[4].

Madune as soon as he learnt of the death of his brother went with his army to the village of Belegale, a league from the city of Cota[5]; and from there he sent to require the grandees of Cota to do obeisance to him, because that kingdom belonged to him by right. The grandees sent word to him that they had a king and prince who was heir by right, to whom they had already done obeisance; and that in his service and in defence of his kingdom they were all ready to die. On this reply Madune advanced nearer to the city, and encamped his army in sight of it, a lake lying between them. Tribuly Pandar, seeing that effrontery, collected what troops he could, and with them the Portuguese, and had with him a severe battle, in which our men were in the van and performed such feats that they drove the enemy from the field with the loss of many men, and Madune betook himself to a place called

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[1] The *Rájávaliya* (79) says that the king "opened the doors of the uppermost storey of the royal pavilion built over the water." Valentyn (*Ceylon* 77) has it, that the house belonged to Máyádunné.

[2] The *Rájávaliya* (79) says:—"and, as he walked about, looking up and down the river, the Portuguese fired a shot, which struck the king on the head, and instantly killed him. Some say that this hurt was done of set purpose; others, that it was done unwittingly: God alone knoweth which is true." Valentyn (*u.s.*) attributes the act to "a Portuguese," and adds that some said that it was done on purpose, others accidentally; and yet he gives a ridiculous picture showing a Portuguese soldier taking deliberate aim at the king.

[3] The date of this fatality is not given; but it seems to have occurred in June or July 1551. Tennent (*Ceylon* ii. 15) gives the year as 1542! Valentyn (*Ceylon* 47) says it occurred after the king had reigned 11 years (which may be a misprint for 17).

[4] The *Rájávaliya* simply states that "the Portuguese raised Dharmapála to the throne and sent information thereof to Goa."

[5] Probably the place meant is Bollẹgala on the right bank of the Kẹlani river, nearly opposite to Am̃batalé, which is about the distance stated (say $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles) from Kóṭṭé.

Canabol[1], Tribuly being left to carry on the war and the government, the king his grandson[2] being very young[3].

The king remained in Cota observing the funeral ceremonies for his grandfather, whose death was for many years suspected to have been caused by Portuguese bribed by Madune, until one Antonio de Barcelos dying many years afterwards told in the hour of his death, on account of the condition in which he then was, that it was he who killed the king of Cota by pure accident while shooting at a pigeon, and that nothing else need be suspected, as that was the truth. At the time of this man's death there was present a Chingalá, a Christian and very old, from whom we learnt this, and he told it to the king his grandson. We are glad to have ascertained the truth of this fact through a man that was a native of that island, on account of the bad opinion that was held of the Portuguese in this matter.

These tidings were sent early in August[4] to the viceroy, who, seeing how necessary it was to go at once and settle these affairs, ordered the fleet to be got ready with all haste, because he was obliged to set out in September, and he immediately set afloat the whole fleet, and began to pay the men.

It being the 10th of the month, there anchored at the bar of Goa five ships, of eight that had set out from the kingdom, the captain-major of which was Diogo Lopez de Sousa. ......

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With the arrival of the ships the viceroy hurried on his embarkation ; and having committed the care of India to the captain of the city, and with him as deputies the chief justice, the *veador da fazenda*[5] and others (because the bishop was accompanying him on a visitation), he embarked, and set sail at the end of September. The viceroy took ten galleons, eight carvels and galleys, and nearly fifty rowing vessels, including galliots, foists, and *catures*[6]. The captains that

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[1] Perhaps Kanampęlla, south of the Kęlani river, a few miles west of Sítávaka. All the foregoing details are summed up in the *Rájávaliya* (79) as follows :—" Máyádunnè, on learning of the death of Bhuvaneka Báhu, proceeded to attack the Portuguese ; but the Portuguese checked his advance and held their ground."

[2] Another absurd blunder : read " son."

[3] At this time Dharmapála could not have been more than twelve years of age (*cf. supra*, p. 119, note [1]).

[4] That is, as soon as the south-west monsoon had abated sufficiently for a vessel to put to sea.

[5] Comptroller of revenue.

[6] See *Hob.-Job. s.v.* " Catur."

accompanied him on this expedition are the following:— Dom Fernando de Meneses his son, Dom Antonio de Noronha, son of the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha, Eitor de Mello, Diogo Alvarez Tellez, Bastiao de Sá, Francisco de Mello Pereira, Dom Joaõ Anriquez[1], Martim Afonso de Miranda, Pero Barreto, Vasco da Cunha, Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque, Afonso Pereira de Lacerda, Diogo de Sousa, Diogo de Miranda Anriquez, Diogo de Mello Coutinho[2], Antonio de Noronha, Jorge Pereira Coutinho, Fernaõ de Castanhoso, Nicolao de Sousa, Alvaro de Lemos, Manoel do Canto, Pero Vaz de Matos, Joaõ da Rocha, Mathias de Trinchel, Luis Mergulhaõ, Pero Salgado the viceroy's ensign, and his *veador*, Simaõ Botelho[3] the *veador da fazenda*, Andre de Mendanha the chief justice, Manoel da Cunha, and other fidalgos and knights. In this fleet there went three thousand men, a very fine body. ...... The viceroy went pursuing his course to Cochim, where in passing he dispatched some business; and leaving there he doubled Cape Comorim and crossed over to Ceilaõ, where he arrived in a few days.

Dec. VI., Bk. ix., Chap. xvii.

Of how the viceroy Dom Afonso de Noronha disembarked at Columbo and had an interview with the king of Cota: and of the compact that they made against Madune: and of how they routed him and captured the city of Ceitavaca.

The viceroy having anchored with all his fleet in the port of Columbo disembarked on the following day, and the king and Gaspar d'Azevedo the *alcaide mór* gave him a very grand reception: because through some rowing vessels that had gone in advance they had had notice of his coming, and had at once gone to Columbo to await him, the king taking with

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[1] This man, we shall see further on (p. 154), was left at Columbo as captain-major of Ceylon.

[2] Succeeded D. João Henriques on the death of the latter (see *infra*, p. 157).

[3] Perhaps the only honest man in the whole gang of robbers. Regarding him see Whiteway 290–8, and Sousa Viterbo's *O Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão* 1–17. From his long letter to the king of 30 January 1552, it appears that he wished to leave for Portugal, as the king had given him leave to do, but the viceroy forbade it on various grounds, so he was forced to accompany this marauding expedition.

him his father and the chief men of his court[1]. The viceroy took up his lodging in the factory, and immediately dispatched his son Dom Fernando de Meneses with five hundred men to occupy the city of Cota, in order to hold the passes to it, so that no one should go out of it: the which Dom Fernando did, placing a captain with a hundred men on guard over the king's palace, so that there might be no disturbance of any kind; these precautions scandalizing many, since it appeared as if they were going to conquer a friendly king rather than one that was an enemy. The viceroy after having given orders in Columbo regarding various matters left for Cota with his whole force, and after taking up his quarters laid hands on the chief *modeliares* and the servants and the oldest persons of the household of the king, the latter being unable to come to their help, and began to inquire of them regarding the treasures of the ancient kings, since it was surmised that they were very great; and because he could extract nothing from them he ordered several *modeliares* to be put to the torture, we know not by what right or justice; and in this he went to such an extreme, and carried it out with such evil methods, that all being horrified at the tortures that they saw some put to, they began to leave, a few at a time, and during that period there went over to Madune more than six hundred of the principal men. The viceroy seeing that they would not reveal anything to him ordered the king's palace to be searched, even invading his private apartments, and carried off all his gold money, including five hundred and sixty *portuguezes* of old gold, silver, jewels, and precious stones, and the money alone amounted to a hundred thousand *pardáos*: all of which was incharged upon Simaõ Botelho, the *veador da fazenda*, in a separate book,

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[1] The *Rájávaliya* (79–80) says:—"When letters reached Goa that king Máyádunné was checked when he once more marched against the Portuguese on the death of Bhuvaneka Báhu, and that prince Dharmapála had been made king, many persons and the *pidalgu* [fidalgo] called Don Juvan Arikku, nephew [or, son-in-law] of the viceroy, and the *padre* Vilponsi Aponsu Perera, came from Goa, landed at Colombo harbour, went to Kóṭṭé, and had an interview with king Dharmapála." I cannot confirm or confute the statement as to the relationship to the viceroy of D. João Henriques; but regarding the *padre* named I shall have something to say further on (see p. 172, note 4). Valentyn (*Ceylon* 77) says that Dharmapála sent a message to the king of Portugal as well as one to the viceroy, and he adds that "the viceroy of Goa Don Louis de Tayde, and his sister's son, Don Joan," came with a great fleet to Ceylon, &c. How the name of D. Luiz de Ataide (who was viceroy in 1568–71 and again in 1578–81) got in here, I cannot imagine.

which is among the revenue accounts at Goa, where we saw these details[1].

After they had taken from this poor king all that they could find, the viceroy discussed with him and his father Tribuly Pandar the business of Madune, and they agreed as follows :—That the viceroy and they two should go against Madune, and that they should not cease their operations against him until they had him in their hands, and had utterly destroyed him, so that he could give them no more trouble; and that they should give him two hundred thousand *pardáos* for the cost of that expedition, one hundred at once, and the other hundred afterwards, for which an acknowledgment was given, which was incharged upon the factor of the fleet Manoel Collaço, and afterwards upon the factor of Cochim, and by him handed over to the receiver of residues, where we went to see it, and it does not state whose the debt is, only saying that they are due, without mentioning the time in which he was obliged to pay them, which must have been in the original, which we cannot find. Furthermore the viceroy agreed with the king of Cota that all the prizes that should be taken in Ceitavaca should be divided equally, one half for the king of Portugal, and the other for the king of Cota.

These agreements having been made and signed, they began to prepare for the expedition against Madune, the king of Cota giving the viceroy then and there eighty thousand *pardáos* on account of the hundred thousand that he was under obligation to give him immediately ; though even to give him this he had to sell jewels and other personal and household articles, which he carried with him and had thus saved. Then the king and his father took the field with four thousand men, and the viceroy with nearly three thousand Portuguese. Before they set out there arrived Dom Diogo d'Almeida, son of the auditor of the exchequer, with fifty soldiers, whom the viceroy welcomed gladly.

This fidalgo, as we have related in the past chapter, left the kingdom that year as captain of the ship *Espadarte*, of the company of Diogo Lopez de Sousa ; and having bad weather passed outside of the island of Saõ Lourenço, and with much trouble and risk made landfall at Cochim, after the 15th of October ; and learning that the viceroy was in Ceilaõ

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[1] Incredible as the above statements appear, they are fully substantiated by Simão Botelho himself (*Cartas de S. B.* 39, and *O Inventario do Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão*, printed for the first time in 1904 by Sousa Viterbo). All that the *Rájávaliya* says is (80), that the viceroy "took possession of much of their royal treasures."

immediately freighted a foist, and collected fifty soldiers from his ship, and set off in search of him, and found him in Cota already in the field.

Everything being ready for the expedition, the viceroy began to march in very good order, the van being led by his son Dom Fernando de Meneses, with all the young fidalgos, who quickly attached themselves to him[1]. Madune as soon as he had news of the arrival of the viceroy fortified his *tranqueiras*[2] and garrisoned them with many men and munitions, while he himself remained in the open with three thousand picked men to go wherever needed. Our people arrived at the first *tranqueira*, attacking it on all sides ; and although they met with very great resistance they gained an entrance, many of the enemy being killed ; and passing on, they captured the other two *tranqueiras*, into which, though very well defended, our people gained an entrance with very great valour. Going on to the city of Ceitavaca, the vanguard had some encounters with Madune, in which they totally routed him, and he with a hundred men went fleeing to certain very strong mountains, called Darnagale[3]. The viceroy entered the city of Ceitavaca without resistance[4], and took up his quarters in Madune's palace, and the king of Cota near the *pagode*, and he at once ordered guards to be placed at the entrances to the city, which was then sacked, both by our people and by those of the king of Cota, and many prizes were found in it. The viceroy ordered the whole of the royal palace to be dug up, to see if he should find the treasures, which he did not, and he did the same with the great *pagode* that was there, in which were found many idols of gold and silver, large and small, candlesticks, basins, belts, and other things, all of gold for the service of the *pagode*, and some pieces of jewelry set with stones, all of which was incharged upon the *veador da fazenda* Simaõ Botelho : all these pieces are entered without valuation, and for this reason we do not estimate what they were worth[5]. All this the viceroy collected together, without giving half to

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[1] See *Rájáv.* 80.

[2] Those described in VI. viii. vii. (pp. 136–8). They appear to have been reconstructed.

[3] Dẹraṇiyagala (see *Rájáv.* 80). Valentyn (*Ceylon* 78) says that Máyádunné soon left this mountain fortress for " the village of Balatga Palla."

[4] The *Rájávaliya* speaks of fighting taking place after the entry into Sítávaka.

[5] The lists are printed in *O Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão* 24–8. As Couto says, there are no valuations entered.

the king of Cota as had been agreed[1], besides what was concealed and secreted, and God only knows how much that was.

The king of Cota ordered spies to be set on Madune; and learning that he had withdrawn to the mountains of Darnagale with few followers, begged of the viceroy five hundred men to go with his father Tribuly Pandar to attack him, and capture him; because if he compromised with him, on their backs' being turned he was certain to reinforce himself and cause new troubles to that island and to the state of India. The viceroy replied that he approved of this, and thereupon asked him for the twenty thousand *pardáos* that were due to him of the balance of the hundred thousand. And as the king was poor, and for the eighty thousand that he had given had even sold articles of his personal use, as we have said above, he could not collect the money, nor had he any source whence to obtain it, and the viceroy leaving the business in suspense said that it was already late, and that it was necessary for him to go and dispatch the ships that had to leave for the kingdom; and leaving Ceitavaca he went to Columbo, to settle various matters of that island before he took his departure[2].

Dec. VI., Bk. ix., Chap. xviii.

...... *of the matters that engaged the viceroy's attention in Ceilaõ:* ......

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...... We must now leave him [D. Antão de Noronha] to return to the viceroy, whom we left just now in Columbo.

There he disposed of the affairs of that island, agreeing to leave a garrison of four hundred men in the city of Cota for its security, and nominated as captain-major of that island and of

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[1] In the headings to the lists as given in *O Thesouro*, &c., the fact is stated that half was for the king of Portugal and half for the king of Ceylon as agreed by contract made with the viceroy. Faria y Sousa (*Asia Port.* II. II. ix.), after recording the contract, adds sarcastically:—"however the necessity of India did not allow of the observance of words, or faiths, or punctualities. If the barbarian had violated them to the Catholic, he had been a thousand times a barbarian. In this wise I am reduced to not knowing what is a Christian or a politician when he breaks them to the barbarian. Better judges may know."

[2] The *Rájávaliya* (80) says that the viceroy "having again given the city to the flames returned to Kóṭṭé." Neither of these statements appears to be correct.

the fleet that he was leaving there Dom Joaõ Anriquez[1], and assigned to him ten rowing vessels, the captains of which were Dom Duarte Deça, Jorge Pereira Coutinho, Diogo de Miranda Anriquez, Fernaõ de Castanhoso, Antonio de Noronha, Ruy de Brito, Nicolao de Sousa, Joaõ Coelho de Figueiro, and Manoel Colaço as factor of the fleet. He left an order for Dom Joaõ Anriquez that he should reside in the city of Cota, appointing as magistrate to administer justice Rafael Corvinel, while the post of *alcaide mór* he intrusted to Fernaõ de Carvalho[2], who had to reside in the city of Columbo, it being agreed at a council of all the captains that it should be walled in all round as speedily as possible, artizans being at once left for this. And so as soon as the viceroy embarked they took the work in hand, and began to enclose it with mud-walls, of which even today the greater part is standing[3]. The viceroy hurried on these matters in order to embark; and it appears that he had determined to take with him Tribuly Pandar[4], father of the king, of which he got wind, and taking himself off betook himself to certain jungles that are a league from Cota: at which the viceroy was much annoyed, but hid his chagrin, and on several occasions pressed the king to become a Christian, from which he excused himself, telling him that at present it was not convenient for him to make a change of law, because, as he had reigned only a short time, and his uncle Madune had a fixed determination to take the kingdom from him, it was

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[1] He was the first "captain-major of Ceylon": D. João da Silveira, Lopo de Brito, and Fernão Gomes de Lemos were styled only "captain of Columbo." With the demolition of the fortress in 1524 this office ceased to exist: now it was to be revived and enlarged.

[2] From *O Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão* 40, it appears that he was also factor.

[3] It is unfortunate that Couto does not enter into greater detail on this subject (regarding which the *Rájávaliya* is silent). It is evident that by "the city of Columbo" is intended so much, at least, as lay within what are now the Pettah and the Fort, for it was this extent that the Portuguese fortress of Columbo covered down to its rendition to the Dutch in 1656. (It therefore lasted just over a century.) The mud-walls, of which Couto reports the greater part as still standing when he wrote (*circa* 1597), had to be strengthened to resist the great siege of 1587–8, as we shall see. Valentyn (*Ceylon* 91) says that he could not find in the Portuguese writers when the fortress was rebuilt: he must have overlooked the above passage.

[4] The reason is not stated; but it was doubtless to prevent him from influencing his son Dharmapála. The *Rájávaliya* (80–1) attributes the issuing of an order to imprison Vídiye Baṇḍára to his having married a daughter of Máyádunné's; but according to Couto (VI. x. xii., p. 163), this marriage took place a year or more later.

certain to be a great argument for him to induce his vassals to go over to him, which would be the cause of that kingdom's being lost[1]; but that he would give him a prince who was his first cousin to take to Goa, and that there he might make him a Christian: and at once he committed him to the viceroy, who ordered him to be given quarters in his galleon, and in Goa he made him a Christian with great solemnity; and when he left for the kingdom[2] he took him with him, and the king commanded him to be committed to the fathers of the Company to be indoctrinated, giving him six hundred thousand *reis* for the expenses of his household.

This prince (who was called Dom Joaõ) frequented the court for many years, and the king bestowed honours upon him, and when he talked with him gave him a chair, as he did to the counts. Afterwards he sent him to India with the same allowance of six hundred thousand *reis*[3]; and in the city of Goa he married a Portuguese wife, the daughter of an honoured knight, who is still living; and the prince of Ceilaõ (for thus he was always intitled) died, and lies interred in Saõ Francisco at Goa. We have given an account briefly of this prince, in order not to do it afterwards in bits[4].

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[1] And yet, in his curious appeal to the pope, the king of Portugal, and the viceroy of India, written at Columbo on 10 December 1594 (see *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 735–40), Dom João Pereapandar claims to have been a Christian for forty-five years! The *Rájávaliya* (80), after the paragraph that I have quoted above (p. 150, note [1]), proceeds:—"He [Dharmapála] was made a proselyte to the religion of Christ and admitted to baptism, and had the baptismal name of Don Juvan Propandára conferred upon him. At his baptism many leading men of Kóṭṭé also received baptism." (In the glossary prefixed to the English translation of the *Rájávaliya* the learned translator explains Propandára by "proponent"—which means a divinity candidate in the Dutch Reformed Church!) On the other hand, Ribeiro (liv. i. cap. v.) implies that Dharmapála was not baptized until 1594. The fact is, that the actual year when he was baptized is not mentioned in any of the authorities that I have consulted. (See further *infra*, p. 172, note [4].)

[2] In 1555.

[3] From a royal letter of 6 February 1589, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (187), it would seem that this prince received an annual sum of 2,500 *pardáos* from the rents of opium and soap: this, at 300 *reis* to the *pardáo*, equals 750,000 *reis*—rather more than Couto mentions.

[4] As the *Rájávaliya* is silent regarding this prince, I cannot identify him; nor do I know when he died, but, judging from the document referred to in the previous note, his death occurred probably in 1587. Sá e Menezes, in his *Rebelion de Ceylan* cap. ii., refers to this prince (see C. A. S. Jl. xi. 462–3, where, however, the translation is very faulty).

And to return to our subject: the viceroy wished not to leave there without being given the twenty thousand *pardáos* that were still due to him, and also wished for the return of Tribuly Pandar, who owed him nothing, since he had not fulfilled the contracts that he had made with him, to pursue Madune until they had killed him or had him in their hands. And seeing that Tribuly had fled, he seized the king's grand chamberlain[1]; who was all his household, and sent him on board a galleon of the fleet, telling him that he would not be released until he had paid him the twenty thousand *pardáos*. The grand chamberlain seeing himself in such straits sent to beg money of his friends and relatives; but could find none that could lend it to him, so ordered to sell a gold belt that he wore and some trinkets of his, which amounted to five thousand *pardáos*, which he sent to the viceroy with a promissory note, in which he bound himself to pay the fifteen thousand in full that year. On this the viceroy ordered him to be released, and embarked, leaving the grand chamberlain's promissory note with Dom Joaõ Anriquez for him to collect the fifteen thousand *pardáos*. And also among certain things that he left him orders to carry out, that which he most impressed upon him was to capture Tribuly Pandar and send him to Goa. Having taken leave of all, he set sail for Cochim[2], ...

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[1] This was Dharmapála's paternal uncle Tammiṭa Bála Súrya Baṅḍára, or, as he is called in a letter of D. João III.'s of 16 March 1543, confirming this office to him and his descendants, "Tammatey Samparaprimal" (? Sampakapperumál).

[2] The *Rájávaliya* (80) says that the viceroy "departed for Goa, giving the post to his nephew, and leaving the captain Diyagu da Mel to assist him. The Buddhist monks who were at Kóṭṭé departed to Sítávaka and the hill-country." What Simão Botelho thought of the viceroy's doings may be judged from the following passage in his letter to the king dated 30 January 1552 (*Cartas de S. B.* 39):—"Regarding the expedition to Ceylão and its result and the death of the king I shall not enlarge, because the viceroy is doing this minutely; but it appears, since the purpose was treasure and Christianity, things so different the one from the other, that our Lord was not willing that either of these should be done or got, except so little of one and the other as that the money and jewels did not come to ninety thousand *pardaos* (I do not mention the exact quantity because there are some things to be sold, and what they will be worth I do not know, they being articles with precious stones), and there was no Christian made except a boy, who was given by force, a son of the dead king's [?]; and since there are bound to write to your highness concerning this business all who

Dec. VI., Bk. ix., Chap. xix.

...... *of what happened in Ceilaõ.*

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The viceroy having left Ceilaõ, Dom Joaõ Anriquez tried to capture Tribuly Pandar, the king's father, as the viceroy had left him orders to do; which becoming known to the king, he took a hand in the matter, and begged him not to interfere with his father, but to dissemble with him for the present, as it was necessary for them once more to unite against Madune, who was already in Ceitavaca reorganized, and with a large force. The king's request seemed to Dom Joaõ good, and he gave him a safeguard for his father to come to Cota, that they might settle about the war that had to be carried on against Madune The king wrote this to his father, and sent to summon him. Tribuly was in the Seven Corlas, where there reigned a first cousin of his[1], with whom he had agreed to marry the king his son to a sister of this cousin's, so that thus they might all be allied against Madune. The captain Dom Joaõ Anriquez learning of this was greatly pleased at it, and agreed with Tribuly Pandar that he should set out with the prince of the Corlas with all the army against Madune, and that he with the king his son and his grand chamberlain should go by way of Calane, that thus he would not be able to escape them. This agreement having been made, when they had one and the other begun to prepare for the expedition, Dom Joaõ Anriquez fell ill of a severe sickness, of which he died on the first of May [1552]. He was succeeded by Diogo de Mello Coutinho, either by an order that existed, or by election, we cannot well ascertain which, who carried on his obligations, waging against Madune all the war that he could, not taking into consideration the league that had been formed against him with Tribuly Pandar and the prince of the Corlas; rather

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were there, I think I am excused from doing so, and through them your highness can learn if I served you therein well or ill; only one thing I shall say, which no one shall drive out of my head, only that there is treasure there, although it may not be much, and some was hidden." From Simão Botelho's *Tombo do Estado da India* (240) it appears that the viceroy also raised the amount of the tribute cinnamon, although the factor had already increased it from 300 to 450 bahars. In spite of all this, Couto (or perhaps his "corrector" Adeodate da Trinidade) in VII. i. vi. expatiates on the virtues of this rapacious extortioner, and says that he lived poor!

[1] This is apparently Edirimánna Súrya, of whom we shall hear again in VII. iii. v. (see p. 175, note [1]).

he determined to seize Tribuly Pandar, as the viceroy had left orders to do, and so he seized him, as will be seen further on[1].

DEC. VI., BK. x., CHAP. vi.

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...... And because there had reached[2] him [the viceroy] tidings of the death of Dom Joaõ Anriquez, captain of Ceilaõ, he dispatched to that fortress Dom Duarte Deça[3]; ......

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DEC. VI., BK. x., CHAP. vii.

Of how Diogo de Mello, captain of Ceilaõ, seized Tribuly Pandar, father of the king : ......

There took place at this time so many events simultaneously that it has not been possible to continue relating them in their order, because the most important and material ones occupied their place : and so we shall give these a little rest, in order to continue with those that took place at the beginning of this summer, both in Ceilaõ and in Malaca ; and for this purpose we shall continue with them together, a thing that we always avoid, because we strive as far as possible to keep them separate and relate them by themselves, so that they may be found apart when they are sought for. But here we shall not at present keep to this order, because thus it is necessary. And to continue with the affairs of Ceilaõ, Dom Joaõ Anriquez having died, after that they had agreed with Tribuly Pandar

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[1] The *Rájávaliya* (80) says :—" Not many days after this, the nephew of the viceroy died of a flatulent complaint after he had handed over charge to Diyagu da Mel, and left written instructions to imprison Vídiye Bañḍára."

[2] In September 1552, it being impossible to communicate with India earlier, owing to the south-west monsoon.

[3] As this man was captain of one of the ships left at Columbo by the viceroy, we might take the word "dispatched" here to mean " appointed by dispatch," which it usually does in the Portuguese historians, were it not that in the next chapter we read of his " arrival " at Columbo, presumably from Goa. Through a careless misreading of Couto's words, Faria y Sousa (*Asia Port.* II. II. x.) says that Dom Duarte was accompanied to Ceylon by Xavier " fired with zeal for a spiritual conquest " : the fact being that, as Couto states, Xavier went in the ships for Malacca, on his way to China.

and with the king his son to go against Madune, he was succeeded by Diogo de Mello Coutinho (as has been related above in the nineteenth chapter of the ninth book of this Sixth Decade), who as soon as he took charge of the fortress, finding in the instructions that tho viceroy left for Dom Joaõ Anriquez that he was to seize Tribuly, resolved to do it, without giving a hint to anyone. So, having an interview with the king, he asked and required him to order his father to come to Cota, because he wished to speak with them both on matters concerning the service of the king of Portugal. The king, thinking that Diogo de Mello would not meddle with him, sent to summon his father, who at once came to Cota. Diogo de Mello, who was in Columbo, as soon as he heard that he had arrived, went thither, and in the king's house seized him, and brought him to Columbo, and put him in a tower that served for keeping the powder in, and put on him strong iron fetters[1].

Tribuly's wife, the king's mother[2], when she saw her husband made a prisoner, stirred up the greater part of the people of Cota, and left there and went to the town of Reigaõ[3], whence she planned for his release; and three days after this had occurred, there arrived Dom Duarte Deça, who came as captain, and at once took charge of Columbo[4]. The king went and interviewed him, and begged him to release he father, which he would not do, but rather made his imprisonment more rigorous[5]: and so we shall leave him for a time, to continue with the affairs of Malaca.

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Dom Pedro da Sylva encountered at sea Bernaldim de Sousa, who imagined that he would be enraged at his conduct with his brother[6]; but he was very far from being so, these things seeming to him very bad, and so after saluting each other

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[1] The *Rájávaliya* (81) says:—"Accordingly Diyagu da Mel, on obtaining the post, seized king Vídiye, took him to Colombo, and imprisoned him there."

[2] This shows that Bhuvaneka Báhu's daughter was still living (*cf. infra*, pp. 161, note [1], 164, note [2]).

[3] See *supra*, p. 99, note [4].

[4] This was probably in September 1552.

[5] As might be expected of such a man (see *infra*, p. 169, note [3]).

[6] This refers to an unseemly quarrel that took place at Malacca at the end of 1552, in which Xavier played a discreditable part (see Whiteway 76). D. Pedro da Silva was captain of Malacca, and his brother D. Alvaro de Taide was sent to succeed him when his time expired. This led to jealousy, and ultimately to violent measures, sides being taken by the various captains there.

they went together to Ceilaõ and disembarked at Gale[1], and from there went by land to Columbo[2], where they remained some days, going to visit Tribuly Pandar in prison, and consoling him, and offering to speak to the viceroy on his behalf[3]; and after getting some necessary things they embarked and left for Cochim. . . . . . .

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DEC. VI., BK. x., CHAP. xii.

Of the events that took place this year in Ceilaõ: and of how Tribuly Pandar, who was imprisoned, became a Christian, and escaped from prison: and of the ravages that he committed, and of other things.

We left the affairs of Ceilaõ with the imprisonment of Tribuly Pandar, father of the king of Cota, and the arrival of Dom Duarte Deça; we shall now continue with the events that took place this summer. Upon the assumption of the captaincy of Ceilaõ by Dom Duarte, the king interceded with him for the release of his father, making him very great offers, and giving him all the assurances that he might require, without being able to persuade him. The fathers of St. Francis had intercourse with this prince, who prayed them to make him a Christian, because he was well affected to the matters of our faith, and because in no one had he found humanity and charity except in them. The fathers were highly gratified at this, and catechized him, and baptized him[4], without telling the captain of this, because they feared that he would prevent them; but after it was done they let him know of it. Dom Duarte was so angry about it, that it had been done without their communicating it to him, that he at once ordered to be put on Tribuly a huge fetter, and to fasten it to a chain, and to stop his communications with the friars, by whose means he thought he might obtain some alleviation, and all the other consolations that a prisoner could have, whereby he reduced that unhappy[5] prince to a state of utter desperation. His

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[1] Apparently in February 1553.

[2] This is the first time we read of Portuguese journeying by land between Galle and Columbo, and it shows that, at this time at least, that portion of the coast was in a settled condition.

[3] The reason for all this solicitude on behalf of Vídiye Baṇḍára is not evident: perhaps it arose from dislike of D. Duarte Deça.

[4] The *Rájávaliya* is silent regarding this.

[5] The word in the original is *atribulado*—an evident pun on the prince's name.

wife, the king's mother (who, as we have said, affronted at the imprisonment of her husband, had gone off to the town of Reigaõ), as she was a prudent and courageous woman, being informed of the ill-treatment meted to her husband, took steps to release him thence by stratagem, since it could not be done by force; and putting herself in communication with some persons that she trusted, Portuguese, who had also been disgusted by these excessive measures, she bribed so much, and gave so much, that they made a mine in the garden of the fathers, upon which the prison looked, which led into the place where Tribuly was, and by this they got him out one night, and he was hurried away from the fortress[1]. Next day, when the alarm was given to the captain of that business, he lost no time in holding an inquiry, and arrested several persons, against whom nothing was proved, and at once dispatched a message to the viceroy of what had occurred.

As soon as Tribuly found himself free from prison, as he bore in his heart bitter resentment for the ill-treatment that had been accorded to him, collecting a large number of men, whom his wife had sent to him, he betook himself in the direction of Gale, and all the churches and Christians that he came across he put to the fire and sword, not sparing anything[2]; and on reaching Gale he did the same, and burnt a fine ship that was there already finished and on the stocks, which belonged to one Miguel Fernandez; and proceeding to Reigaõ, he took his wife and went to the town of Pelande[3], which would be

[1] The *Rájávaliya* (81) says:—"The queen of king Vídiye contrived to have the jail broken into by *pallaru*, and the king removed and brought by night from Colombo to Rayigam Kóraḷé, and thence to Awwágama (or Aṭuḷugama)." Valentyn (*Ceylon* 78) has it that the *two wives* of "Videa Rajoe" procured his escape. The date of Vídiye Baṅḍára's release is nowhere stated, but it must have been after February 1553, when, as we have seen in VI. x. vii., he was visited in prison by the two Portuguese captains.

[2] In VII. ii. iv. (p. 170) Couto records another raid by Vídiye Baṅḍára in the same region, which shows that the loss of life and property on this occasion could not have been as great as is here stated: unless, indeed, two raids have been evolved out of one. The *Rájávaliya* is silent on the subject.

[3] The *Rájávaliya* (81) says:—"There [Awwágama], however, he could not maintain his ground, because the Siṃhalese and Portuguese army marched against him from Kóṭṭé. He therefore crossed over the Kaḷu-gaṅga and lived in the heart of Pasyodun Kóraḷé. Here he founded the city of Peḷéṅda and erected a fort. He assumed the honorary title *Tuṭṭaráyakaṇḍa Aṅgaṇvíra*, spread his fame in the four directions; and, while residing in Peḷéṅda, cherished a desire to attack Kóṭṭé and Sítávaka."

eight leagues from Cota[1], with the intention of making all the war that he could on the Portuguese.

The king his son when he had news of his flight, and of the ravages that he was committing, was very sorry, and sent to beg him not to go any further with that business, nor to remember the wrong they had done him; but to cast his eyes upon Madune his enemy, who was the cause of all those troubles; and that they should all unite for his hurt, because otherwise that kingdom would be lost; and to the same purport he spoke to the captain, and begged him that past events might be forgotten and present ones considered, and that they should all arm against Madune, who was powerful, and incited by these dissensions; and that he knew for certain that unless something was done in this direction very quickly all that island would be lost and would remain in the power of the hostile king; and that it was the king of Portugal that would lose most in this, since he was suzerain of that kingdom of Cota, and the commerce of that cinnamon was of great importance to him.

Dom Duarte Deça having considered all these things made a compact with the king against Madune, bringing into the league Tribuly Pandar, who was to go from the town of Pelande, where he was, with his troops against Ceitavaca; and that the king should send the grand chamberlain with all his army and fifty Portuguese that he would give him. This compact the captain swore upon a missal to observe, and the king thereupon gave him a thousand cruzados towards the expenses of the fifty soldiers, and began to arrange matters for the expedition, the grand chamberlain putting in the field nearly three thousand men; and when he expected the fifty Portuguese that Dom Duarte Deça was to send him, he failed him with all of them, sending word to him that the soldiers did not care to serve without pay, and that he must send him more money for this. The king, as he had been plundered and was penniless, had nothing to send him; but the grand chamberlain had a golden girdle that was worth five hundred cruzados, and this he sent him, that he might pay the fifty soldiers. Dom Duarte received the girdle, and responded by sending him twenty soldiers, and as captain of them João Coelho[2]. The king was very indignant at Dom Duarte Deça's thus failing to do as he had sworn; but he did not cease

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[1] It is rather less in a direct line.

[2] Doubtless João Coelho de Figueiro, who was captain of one of the ships left at Columbo by the viceroy in 1551 (see *supra*, p. 154).

preparing for the prosecution of the enterprise, and dispatched the grand chamberlain with orders to go and see the prince of the Corlas[1] in order to get him to join the league. The grand chamberlain having set out arrived at the village of Madabe[2], where he had an interview with that prince, and arranged with him that he was to assist him against Madune from that side, and left him four hundred men to add to his forces. This done, the grand chamberlain with the Portuguese invaded the territories of Madune at one point, the prince of the Corlas at another, and Tribuly Pandar from Pelande at another. At the part where the grand chamberlain entered there came out to meet him Madune's captain-general, with whom our people had several encounters, in which they routed him. Dom Duarte Deça, whether it were that Madune, learning of this confederation, sent secretly to bribe him, in order that he might not aid the king of Cota, or lest he should, from cupidity of what he hoped to get from him, offer himself to him, or whatever it was, they had communications with one another, which were not so secret that Tribuly Pandar did not get to know them, and at once informed his son thereof[3].

The king seeing such bad faith, as he was a great friend of the Portuguese, fearing some treachery, sent to recall all with the grand chamberlain. Tribuly seeing this injustice of the captain's, and how on top of what he swore he corresponded with Madune, wished however to be quits with him and pay him back in the same coin, and so they entered into an agreement, which concluded as follows :—That Tribuly Pandar should marry a daughter of Madune's, a widow with one daughter, and that the latter should marry his second son, the king's brother : and to this they gave their assents, which were at once published. When the king heard of it he was very vexed, because he knew from the malice of Madune that all these agreements were in order to cajole his father Tribuly, so as to arrive at depriving him of the kingdom, which was what he aimed at. The old queen, the grandmother of the king and of Madune (who was a very serious lady of great prudence), seeing the king of Cota abandoned even by his own father, took with her the grand chamberlain, and went to the village of Reigaõ, where Tribuly was ; and having an interview with him, she made him a speech much to her credit regarding this business, which had

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[1] See *supra*, p. 157, note [1].

[2] Perhaps Mádampé is meant.

[3] The *Rájávaliya* has nothing of all the foregoing.

such an effect that she got him to cancel all the proposals he had made with Madune, placing her son's affairs once again in a more hopeful position; and it pleased God that this lady arrived before the matrimonial alliances with Tribuly were consummated; for had it not been so all would have been lost.

These matters having become known, Dom Duarte Deça was deposed, and in his place succeeded Fernaõ Carvalho, *alcaide mór* of Columbo[1]. The king, his father Tribuly Pandar, and the prince of the Corlas (who by the intervention of the old queen swore a new league) got ready to prosecute the war, begging the assistance of fifty soldiers from Fernaõ Carvalho, who offered them to them, and they immediately sent him five hundred cruzados for their expenses. All being in the field, when the king sent to ask the captain for the soldiers he sent answer asking to be excused, saying that some Malavar vessels were cruising off the coast of Columbo, and that he must go after them, lest they should pillage the country: and so he went off without sending them either soldiers or money. The king, seeing how he went from bad to worse with these captains, yet did not desist from the enterprise, and ordered it to be prosecuted. The confederates entered the territories of Madune, and defeated his captains many times, and brought him to such a state, that he sent to beg mercy of his brother, who as he was a good man showed it to him, and they made a new peace, with the carrying out of the marriages that had been agreed[2]. In this state we leave these things.

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[1] This was only until the viceroy should appoint a successor (see p. 165).

[2] The *Rájávaliya* (81) says:—"The princess whom the aforesaid queen, daughter of Máyádunné, bore in dangerous labour, was given in marriage to king Vídiye's son by his first bed. It should be noted that the name of this son was prince Vijayapála, *afterwards known as* king Dharmapála." The words italicized are not in the original, and are erroneous. (According to Valentyn's version, *Ceylon* 76, Dharmapála had a younger brother named Vijayapála.) The version of the *Rájávaliya* translated by Valentyn (*Ceylon* 79) says:—"About this time there died the emperor's mother, or the wife of Videa Rajoe, who, having learnt of her death, whilst he was still at Pellenda, made peace with the king of Majadune, and thereafter married his daughter Maha Tiquiri Bandara, beside this, in order to render the bonds of friendship so much the stronger, giving in marriage to his son Jaja Palla Astana, the lawful brother of the emperor's, a niece of the king's, Coeda Tiquiri Bandara. After the consummation of these marriages, he made little of the king of Majadune, or of the Portuguese; but on the contrary began to do them harm, and gave out that he was the rightful heir to the empire."

DEC. VI., BK. X., CHAP. XIV.

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Summer having begun, in the early part of September [1553] there arrived at the bar of Goa two ships from the kingdom: ...... The viceroy warmly welcomed the captain-major, who delivered to him the bag of *vias*[1], in which he found various instructions regarding matters which the king commanded him to attend to at once, and of some of these we shall give the purport, because it is necessary for our history.

The viceroy found an *alvará*[2], in which the king commanded him immediately, as soon as he had read it, to return to the king of Ceilaõ all the money and jewels that he had taken from him; and if any had been sold, to pay him their value; because the king considered that the viceroy had done him great disservice by his conduct towards that king, for which he reprehended him in his letters. The viceroy at once began to carry into execution the *alvará*, and dispatched the galleon of the Ceilaõ voyage[3], in which he ordered to embark Affonso Pereira de Lacerda, whom he appointed to the captaincy of that island, ordering Dom Duarte Deça to return[4], and by him he sent to that king all the jewels that still remained to be sold; and of the rest, which might be worth some two hundred thousand *pardaos*, a declaration was made in the journal of Belchior[5] Botelho (upon whom all had been incharged), in order that it might be repaid to him little by little; but of the whole the poor king did not get back twenty thousand *pardaos*, by instalments, and by articles that were sent to him, because all the rest was deducted, part in the tribute, and the greater quantity in gifts and favours that he bestowed upon captains, *alcaides móres*, secretaries, fidalgos, officials, and servants of the viceroys and governors. And in these gifts was well fulfilled that old adage that says: "*Mouro*

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[1] The royal dispatches were termed *vias*, because they were generally sent in quadruplicate, one set, or *via*, in each ship.

[2] A royal order.

[3] See *supra*, p. 121, note [3].

[4] From VII. I. vii. and VII. II. iv. it appears that, although "dispatched" at this time, Affonso Pereira did not actually enter on the post until April 1555 (see pp. 169, 170, *infra*). If D. Duarte Deça left Ceylon, as he was ordered to do, it is to be presumed that Fernão Carvalho continued to act as captain of Columbo.

[5] This must be a slip of the pen for "Simaõ," as it was upon Simão Botelho that all the Ceylon plunder was incharged (see *supra*, p. 150). Belchior was Simão's eldest son (see *O Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão* 7).

que naõ podes haver, dá-o por tua alma "[1]. So this king, seeing that he could not get what was due to him out of the hands of the governors who succeeded down to Mathias d'Alboquerque, bestowed liberal favours upon those that asked him[2], which were paid by means of secret agreements, which all had for that purpose,—a very great injustice, much in use in India, not to pay men for the money, the foist, the provisions, the coir, and all the rest that is got for the fleet, but to pay others, with whom they have agreed for the third part. But leaving this matter, and others from which we derive little satisfaction, let us return to our subject. The king continued to press the governors and viceroys for his dues, without being able to get them out of their hands, until the year 1558, when Francisco Barreto being governor, and seeing how that king worried him, brought the matter into court, after the king's proctor had presented a libel against that king: by the judges it was decided, that the king [of Portugal] was not under obligation to pay him anything, because the state had spent much more on fleets than he had sent in the way of help[3].

This decision appears to have been disapproved of by the king Dom Filippe when he succeeded to the realms of Portugal,

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[1] Literally, "The Moor that you cannot get, give for your soul."

[2] *Cf. infra*, p. 241.

[3] In the *Arch. Port.-Or.* v. (No. 206) is printed an *alvará* issued at Goa on 3 January 1558, by the Governor Francisco Barreto, which runs:—"The Governor of India, etc. I do to wit all who shall see this my *alvará* and whom it may concern that inasmuch as I am informed that the king Dom Johão king of Ceilão on account of importunities and untrue statements grants favours to many men without their deserving it, and for just considerations that move me thereto, I think fit and command that henceforward no Portuguese person or any other person of any quality or condition whatsoever receive from the said king any favour of money that may be payable to him from the money that our lord the king has to give to the said king of Ceilão, and may order to be given and paid to him, nor likewise shall they sell him merchandise or anything else in order to get payment from the said money, under pain that whoever shall act contrary shall not have the said favour nor the price of what he shall thus sell him, and shall lose the things that he shall sell, and in addition he shall be given the punishment that I shall think fit. I notify thus to all the judges, magistrates, officers, and persons to whom this shall be shown, and command them thus to comply with it and cause it to be complied with without any doubt or hindrance. And this shall be proclaimed in Ceilão, and shall be registered in the exchequer, so that it shall be notorious to all, the which shall be valid though it may not pass through the court of chancery. The secretary Quintino Martins did it in Goa the 3rd of January 1558. *Francisco Barreto.*"

because in the year 1585 he passed an *alvará*, signed by the cardinal Alberto, regent of the kingdom, in which he commanded that payment was no longer to be made to the persons to whom the king of Cota had granted the debts due to him, and that on account of these he was to be given each year what had usually been given him for entertainment, which was a thousand *pardáos*[1]; as we shall state more exactly and at greater length in our Tenth Decade, because here we only refer to it, these things being closely connected.

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[1] The *alvará* of 1585 spoken of by Couto is not in the *Arch. Port.-Or.*: but in that collection is a letter from the king to the viceroy, dated 6 February 1589, paragraph x. of which (180–1) runs:—"And I was pleased at the manner in which you acted regarding the king of Ceilão, and at your having ordered payment to be made to him of the thousand *pardáos* that he has yearly as pension, which as a Christian king, and one who has nothing else to sustain him, it is right that he should not lack, and that you have particular care of him, and that he understand by deeds and words that I have enjoined it upon you; and as regards the money that he gives to several persons on account of what was lent to the viceroy Dom Affonso, I have nothing fresh to treat of, because by the ships of the past year I commanded to write to you that in no case should payment be made of any of this money, having been informed that a great quantity had been paid to persons to whom he gave it with much largess, without there being a book of receipt or expenditure of his money, regarding which I commanded a provision of mine to be passed, which I sent you in past years, which you shall cause to be observed entirely as is set forth therein." The promise that Couto here makes, of dealing with the subject in his Tenth Decade, he appears to have forgotten to fulfil, since he does not refer to the matter therein,

COUTO.

DECADE VII.

1554–1565 A.D.

Portuguese Governors of India.—D. Pedro Mascarenhas, viceroy, September 1554 to June 1555; Francisco Barreto, governor, June 1555 to September 1558; D. Constantino de Bragança, viceroy, September 1558 to September 1561; D. Francisco Coutinho, count of Redondo, viceroy, September 1551 to February 1564; João de Mendonça, governor, February to September 1564.

Sinhalese Rulers in Ceylon.—Dharmapála *alias* Dom João Pereapandar, 1551–97 (Kóṭṭé); Máyádunné, 1534–81 (?), (Sîtávaka); ———— ? *alias* Dom João, 155 ?–6 ? (Kandy).

Tamil King in Jaffna.—Sangili.

Portuguese Captains-Major of Ceylon.—Affonso Pereira de Lacerda, 1555–9; D. Jorge de Menezes Baroche, 1559–60; Balthazar Guedes de Sousa, 1560–4; Pedro de Ataide Inferno, 1564–5.

In this Decade we are told of the ravages committed by Vídiye Rája after his escape from prison; of an alliance between the Portuguese and Máyádunné for his destruction; of a combined attack upon him in the city of Pẹléñda; and of his flight to Jaffna and death there at the hands of the Tamils (1555–6 ?). We also read of further engagements between the Portuguese and Máyádunné's troops under the command of Rája Sinha, in which on one occasion the former suffered a serious defeat; and of the siege of Kóṭṭé and its relief (1556–63). Several chapters are devoted to a detailed account of a campaign (in 1560) against the king of Jaffna, commanded by the viceroy in person, which after a successful beginning ended in disaster, the Portuguese being obliged to make a hasty and shameful retirement from the peninsula. A curious and perplexing episode in connection with this expedition is the alleged capture by the Portuguese, in a

temple in Jaffna, of the tooth relic; the subsequent offer (in 1561) by the king of Pegu of a large sum for its redemption; the refusal (after much debate) of this offer, and the destruction of the relic by command of the viceroy.

Dec. VII., Bk. i., Chap. vii.

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...... Almost at the same time[1] there also anchored at the bar of Goa the ship *Espadarte* of the company of the viceroy Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, which had gone to Ormuz to winter, as we have said. And because Fernaõ Gomez de Sousa, who came by it as captain, carried the captaincy of Cochim, the viceroy at once dispatched him to enter on it; and he did the same to Afonso Pereira de Lacerda, who was there as captain, to go from there to serve in the captaincy of Columbo in Ceilaõ; and also dispatched Dom Duarte[2] to go and enter on the captaincy of Maluco[3], who went on board the ship *Conceiçaõ*, the captain of which was Dom Jorge Deça, who had been dispatched for these voyages. ......

Dec. VII., Bk. ii., Chap. iv.

Of the events that happened in Ceilaõ: and of the stratagems that Madune made use of in order to set Tribuli Pandar at enmity with the Portuguese: and of how afterwards he agreed with them to destroy him, as they did.

Tribuli Pandar having escaped from the prison in which Dom Duarte kept him (as has already being related in the Sixth Decade in the twelfth chapter of the tenth book) went and

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[1] Apparently in March or April 1555.

[2] See *supra*, p. 165, note [4].

[3] He had been appointed to this a year before. He had no sooner entered on his office than he began to show what manner of man he was ("obstinate, headstrong, and of a violent temper, and blinded by his cupidity," is Couto's description of him). His outrageous proceedings culminated in his being seized by the Portuguese in the Moluccas and sent a prisoner to Goa, whence he was sent to Portugal to justify his con duct to the king, which he managed to do by inculpating another man.

took up his residence in the village of Balande[1] (after he had committed the ravages of which we have spoken). Madune, as he was crafty, and as all those dissensions had been cut short midway from the conclusion he desired, at once dispatched messengers to Tribuli Pandar, by whom he sent to persuade him to avenge himself of the affronts that the Portuguese had put upon him, offering him to this end all the help he might need, in men and money : which Tribuli Pandar accepted of him, and he sent him six hundred Chingalás with their *modeliares*[2] ; and with the troops that he collected in addition he began to wage a very bitter war on our people, and destroyed the villages of Paneturé, Caleturé, Macù, Berberi, Galé, and Beligaõ[3], and wrecked all our temples that the friars of St. Francis had in all these places, having made in them many Christians of great and exemplary life, some of whom on this occasion received a glorious martyrdom at the hands of this barbarian, who spared nothing ; and many of the Christians he took captive, ill-treated, and even put to the torture[4].

At this juncture there arrived[5] Afonso Pereira de Lacerda (whom we left above on his departure from Cochim) to succeed to that captaincy ; and after taking posession of it, learning of the great ravages that Tribuli Pandar had committed, he determined to make on him all the war that he could, for which purpose he made his preparations. Madune, who never lost an occasion, as soon as he saw Tribuli Pandar at full enmity with the Portuguese, dispatched ambassadors to Afonso Pereira de Lacerda, ordering them to wait on him and offer him all that he might need against Tribuli Pandar : which Afonso Pereira de Lacerda accepted of him with thanks, a compact being made between them that each on his side should make war on Tribuli Pandar, and that they should not relax their efforts until they had totally destroyed him ; because as long as he was alive he was sure to cause trouble to that island[6]. This compact was made with the condition that the customs dues of the country and ports should be collected

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[1] An error for " Palande." (The edition of 1782 has " Bandale.")

[2] The *Rájávaliya* says nothing of this alliance, but (81) ascribes Máyádunné's enmity to Vídiye to the latter's ill-treatment of his second wife, daughter of the former.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 124.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 161. It is probable that it was in this general massacre that Fernão Rodriguez lost his life at Berberim (Béruvala), as recorded on his wife's tombstone, now in the Colombo Museum (see *M. Lit. Reg.* i. 14).

[5] In April 1555.

[6] The *Rájávaliya* is silent regarding this compact.

for the king of Portugal, to whom they were paid in former times, but had been usurped by Madune[1], which were as follows:—From the ports of Licaõ[2] one thousand fanams, of Belicote[3] three hundred, the lands of the queen[4] three thousand three hundred, those of Mapano[5] seven hundred, those of Muliara[6] two thousand, the Regir[7] two thousand five hundred, the port of Matual three thousand three hundred and twenty, that of Columbo two thousand[8], Paneturé five hundred and sixty, the port of Macù[9], Beligaõ, and Galé, and Chucari[10] nine thousand seven hundred. And they agreed further that the captain should apprehend the grand chamberlain[11] of the king of Cota and his brother-in-law Alaca *modeliar*[12], and a son of the black captain's[13] (who were the three persons whom Madune most feared), the ambassadors leading the captain to believe that these were the instigators of the affairs in which Tribuli Pandar was concerned, that they helped him in the ravages that he had committed: for Madune thought that when he had not

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[1] This is the first time we learn of these important facts. When the customs dues of the Ceylon ports first began to be collected for the king of Portugal, I do not know.

[2] This should be "Alicaõ" (Aḷutgama), the initial having, as in other instances, been dropped through confusion with the Portuguese feminine definite article (*cf. C. Lit. Reg.* iv. 190, note). The plural form "ports" refers to this and the next place mentioned.

[3] This is an error for "Belitote" = Weḷitoṭa near Balapiṭiya (*cf.* p. 358).

[4] I do not know where these were.

[5] Mapane (Mápáné) was the name by which, in Portuguese times, the tract of open land now called Galle Face was known (see C. A. S. Jl. xii. 76, note). We shall come across the name more than once in the account of the great siege of Columbo, 1587–8 (*cf. infra*, p. 296, note [10]).

[6] This is evidently Mulleriyáva, a few miles east of Colombo (*cf. infra*, p. 292, note [4]).

[7] This is a puzzling name; but coming, as it does, between Mulleriyáva and Mutwal, I think the original "o Regir" is a misreading or misprint for some such form as "Veregore" = Véragoḍa (*cf. infra*, p. 384).

[8] The port of Matual, it will be seen, had a larger trade than that of Columbo.

[9] Maggona.

[10] This, I think, must be a ghost name, evolved out of a misreading of some Portuguese word or words. It may, however, be a blunder for "Caleturé"; but its enumeration after Galle makes this dubious.

[11] Tammiṭa Bála Súrya Baṇḍára (see *supra*, p. 156, note [1], &c.).

[12] In VII. III. v. (p. 177) he is called Alanca. (Perhaps Alagakkón is intended.) The *Rájávaliya* does not mention him.

[13] I do not know who this was.

got these against him it would soon be very easy for him to make himself master of the whole island.

All these contracts having been made according to the wishes of Madune, without Afonso Pereira de Lacerda's suspecting his falsehoods, they at once prepared to prosecute the war: and the captain apprehended the persons that Madune had indicated, and the grand chamberlain he sent at the beginnnig of summer[1] to Goa, where the governor Francisco Barreto[2] received him cordially, and ordered him to be intrusted to the friars of Saõ Francisco[3], where he remained, and commanded him to be given all that he needed, and they treated him with so much kindness, that they succeeded in making him a Christian, and baptized him with great rejoicings, the governor Francisco Barreto being his godfather, and bestowing his name on him; and afterwards he sent him back to Ceilaõ with gifts and honours[4].

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[1] That is, in September 1555.

[2] He succeeded to the governorship on the death of the viceroy D. Pedro Mascarenhas on 16 June 1555.

[3] On the convent and church of St. Francis of Assisi see Fonseca 220–5.

[4] In VIII. xii. (p. 244) Couto again refers to this "conversion" of the grand chamberlain. All that the *Rájávaliya* says (81) is, that "his [Vídiye's] younger brother, Tammiṭa Súrya Baṇḍára, was captured and sent to Goa"; and no mention is made of his return to Ceylon. The version used by Valentyn, however, says (*Ceylon* 78):—"Meanwhile the deported councillor Tammutta Bala Soeria Sena Dipati [*sic*] found means of making himself so esteemed by the viceroy [*sic*] of Goa, that he returned to Ceylon with great gifts." In what year or years the chamberlain's baptism and return to Ceylon took place, I cannot find: but, as Francisco Barreto's governorship ceased on 8 September 1558, they must have occurred before that date. The "conversion" and baptism of Dharmapála must also have taken place during this period, for in the *Arch. Port.-Or.* (v. No. 257) is printed the summary of a provision by the governor Francisco Barreto, dated at Chaul, 21 March 1558, allowing the king of Ceylon, on account of his "being now converted to our holy faith," to send to India yearly fifty extra bahars of cinnamon, besides the usual 150 of tribute. The wording of this would seem to imply that the "conversion" took place in 1557. I have quoted above (p. 150, note [1], p. 155, note [1]) a passage from the *Rájávaliya* (80) which implies that Dharmapála was "converted" and baptized by means of a *padre* named "Vilponsi Aponsu Peréra," who accompanied the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha to Ceylon in 1551. The key to this mysterious and obviously anachronistic passage is to be found in Valentyn (*Ceylon* 78), whose more correct version of the *Rájávaliya* reads:—"At this same time there left for Ceylon a Franciscan priest Fra Joan

The contracts between Madune and Afonso Pereira de Lacerda having been agreed to, Madune dispatched a bastard son of his called Rajù[1] (who was the worst enemy and gave more trouble to that fortress than all others, and laid two very strait sieges to it, one when Manoel de Sousa Coutinho was captain, and the other in the time of Joaõ Correa de Brito, as

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Villa da Conde, and a captain Alfonso Pereira with him, who came first to Colombo, and afterwards to Cotta to the emperor Darmapala, whilst the latter was preparing for a severe conflict, in which the Portuguese also took their share. After this priest had been here for some time, he brought the emperor so far, that, in the presence of the captain-general, he with many of his grandees, and a large portion of his people, was baptized." So we find that the mysterious *padre* "Vilponsi Aponsu Peréra" resolves himself into the friar Frei João de Villa do Conde and the captain Affonso Pereira de Lacerda! Now, the latter, as we have seen, did not arrive in Ceylon until April 1555: so that it is evident that Dharmapála's baptism could not have occurred before that date. According to the *Hist. Seraf.* iii. 536, Fr. João de Villa do Conde was one of the six Franciscan friars sent out by King João III. in 1540 [*sic*] in reply to the request of "Bonezabago," whom, however, he failed to convert, but who, nevertheless, was persuaded to send two of his sons (?) to Goa, where they were baptized, and died shortly afterwards (see *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 245, 327). The death of Bhuvaneka Báhu is mentioned, and the succession of his grandson, D. João Parea Pandar, who deferred becoming a Christian, but gave a cousin (and so on, as Couto states above on pp. 154–5). This writer then says:—"Some time having passed, the same father Fr. João baptized not only this king, but the queen his wife, who took the name of D. Catharina, many of the grandees of his court, all the ladies of the palace, and so large a number of the people in the city, and outside of it, that the baptized were counted by thousands. Within a few months in a limit of thirty leagues he erected twelve churches, where with his companions by day and night, without taking an hour of rest, they cultivated and watered with the holy sacraments these new plants, which afterwards filled the whole circuit of the island. Besides this we baptized in Goa his grand chamberlain, who received the name of D. Francisco Barreto." Now, taking the above with the official documents quoted *supra* (p. 166, note [3], and the first part of this note), I think we may conclude that it was in 1557 that Dharmapála was baptized and took the name of Dom João (after the king of Portugal), his wife taking that of Catharina (after the queen of Portugal). That it could not have been later than the early part of 1558 is certain, since King João III. died on 11 June 1557; and the news would have reached Ceylon in the latter part of 1558.

[1] Here enters on the scene the famous "royal lion," Rája Siṃha I., at this time only a lad in his teens, known as Ṭikiri Baṇḍára (see *Rájáv.* 82). There is no reason for believing him a bastard, as Couto calls him (*cf. infra*, p. 272, note [1]).

will be related in the Ninth and Tenth Decades[1]). This Rajù went with a large army against Tribuli Pandar in the direction of Caleture[2]. Afonso Pereira de Lacerda sent Ruy Diaz Pereira with two hundred men and Antonio de Espindola with one hundred to attack each on his side the city of Palanda, where Tribuli Pandar was, because Rajù was to go from another side, so that thus he could not escape them. Having all arrived there and encamped their armies, our people attacked the city with great determination; and although Tribuli Pandar defended himself very bravely, an entrance was nevertheless effected, many inside being killed; and Tribuli Pandar, seeing himself defeated, managed to escape, and fled to Tanavarè[3], and our people entered his houses, and captured his wife, who was the daughter of Madune, and whom he had only recently married; and carried off all his household and personal property, and thereupon returned to Columbo and Rajù to Ceitavaca. Tribuli Pandar not thinking himself safe in Tanavarè went to the Seven Corlas, whither Madune afterwards followed him and proceeded to lay siege to him very leisurely, as will be seen further on.

DEC. VII., BK. III., CHAP. V.

Of the events that took place this year in Ceilaõ: and of the war that was prosecuted against Tribuli Pandar: and of how he fled to Jafanapataõ, where he was killed: and of the war that Madune again made on the king of Cota.

In the past winter[4] we left Tribuli Pandar a refugee in the Seven Corlas after being defeated; and finding himself so persecuted there, he betook himself to the prince of Urunguré

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[1] These were in 1579–80 and 1587–8 respectively. The second we shall find described in full detail in the Tenth Decade (p. 274 ff.); but the Ninth Decade having been stolen, and Couto's summary of it unfinished, almost all that we know about the first is gained from a reference here and there in the Tenth Decade (see *infra*, p, 257).

[2] The *Rájávaliya* (82–3) recounts the incidents of this campaign in much greater detail than Couto, but ignores any Portuguese participation (see also Val. *Ceylon* 79–80).

[3] Dondra. From the *Rájávaliya* it would seem, however, that he did not actually go to Dondra.

[4] The "past winter" should mean May–August 1555; but it will be noticed that in VII. II. iv. Couto gives no dates, nor does he in this chapter: so that it is not easy to fix the year in which the events he describes took place.

(which is one of the *corlas*[1]), because of his being a close connection of his[2], and he entertained him well, and assisted him against Madune, and gave him everything necessary for war; but as Tribuli Pandar was wicked and perverse, in payment of this great kindness he one night murdered the prince, and took possession of the city[3], in which he fortified himself with his followers, making himself master of the palace, house, and treasure of the prince[4]. This tyrant seeing himself in power and master of Urùnguré determined to get possession of the whole of the Seven Corlas, which was a large dominion, and in which neither the Portuguese nor Madune could do him harm, it consisting entirely of high mountains and narrow and difficult passes[5]. Having determined this, he mustered a force and began to invade the other *corlas* and with his army to capture and destroy their villages.

The natives, seeing how great was the wickedness of a man that should murder a prince who had sheltered him in his troubles and persecutions, and one so closely connected with him, all entered into correspondence with each other, and formed a general league against him, swearing with their ceremonies that they would all die both in the defence of their cities and in avenging the death of that prince; and mustering all their forces, they occupied and fortified all the passes by which this tyrant could enter; and for greater security they sent ambassadors to Afonso Pereira de Lacerda, captain of Ceilaõ, to beg him for assistance in soldiers, promising that to all that should come they would pay fifteen gold *pardáos* the month each.

Afonso Pereira de Lacerda having seen their request and offer, and considering that it would be to the king's service to help those people, in order that that tyrant should not make himself master of those cities (because he would cause great oppression and trouble to the whole of that island), at once dispatched one Joaõ Fernandes Columbrina, an old soldier and

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[1] There is not, and never was, I believe, a kóraḷé in the Seven Kóraḷés with a name like this. Perhaps Kuruṇégala is meant; but this seems very doubtful (*cf. infra*, p. 318, note [3]). Regarding this man and his capital see C. A. S. Jl. xiii. 46–7. The *Rájávaliya* (84) calls him "king Edirimánna Súrya of the Irugal race."

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 157, note [1].

[3] Muṇḍakoṇḍapola.

[4] *Cf. Rájávaliya* 84; C. A. S. Jl. xiii. 47, and note. Valentyn (*Ceylon* 81) gives an imaginary picture of the murder.

[5] As a fact, the Portuguese never did obtain any permanent footing in the Seven Kóraḷés.

worthy knight, with sixty Portuguese, who were glad to go on that business on account of the high pay that they had promised them; and they proceeded to join the natives of those *corlas*, and began to make war on Tribuli Pandar from above, while Ráju, son of Madune (of whose services they also availed themselves), did the same from below[1]; and thus they harried that tyrant, who seeing his cause lost sought to save his person, which he did one night, taking his mother-in-law and his wife, Madune's daughter, with whatever treasures he could; and by unfrequented roads made his way to Jafanapataõ to beg help of that king[2], so as to return once more with a larger force: and he received him humanely. And in discussing his business afterwards, and giving him an account of his experiences, in the course thereof he represented to him the obligation binding upon all the kings of that island, to expel from it the Portuguese, making it appear to him so easy, that he persuaded him to give him help against them, and to urge the same upon all the kings his friends and relatives. And for the greater certainty of this they met in a *pagode*, in order there to swear that league with the ceremonies customary amongst them. But as the thing that God most abhors is false and tyrannic men, it pleased him to speedily chastise this Tribuli Pandar, when he was most intoxicated with the revengefulness of his hate: and it occurred in this manner.

These princes being before their idols in order to take their oaths with great festivities and rejoicings, there happened to fall from a soldier's firelock powder-flask a little gunpowder, and another that stood by out of mischief set fire to it, which took place close to both those princes. And as Tribuli Pandar was fearful, and alarmed at everything (which is the weight that the wicked always carry on their heart, as a penalty of their wickedness), as soon as he saw the blaze of the powder, thinking that it was treachery, he drew his sword on the king; and amongst all there ensued a great strife, in which Tribuli Pandar was killed, there remaining, as a result of this affair, in the power of that king the old queen, the grandson, his daughter-in-law, and his treasures[3]: and thus ended all his

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[1] The *Rájávaliya* (84–5), while recording a previous engagement between the Portuguese-*cum*-Kóṭṭé Siŋhalese *plus* Vídiye's troops and the forces of Máyádunné at Puvakęlla ferry, of which Couto says nothing, is silent regarding the confederacy here described against Vídiye.

[2] This was Sangili, who massacred Xavier's converts in 1544.

[3] Of these treasures we shall hear again (see pp. 195, 196). As regards Vídiye Rája's widow, see *infra*, p. 396, note [4], p. 398, note [6].

wars and troubles[1] (whom the captains of Columbo persecuted, he having in the beginning perhaps some small faults: because if he came to bite, it was because they worried him). And after his death began the great troubles of that island, and the kingdom of Cota was lost; and there were so many sieges of that fortress and of that of Columbo, as will be seen in the course of the Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Decades: for Madune had never grown so impudent had Tribuli Pandar lived, it being he that broke his power and abated his pride and tyranny.

Madune seeing that Tribuli Pandar was dead, and the grand chamberlain of the king of Cota, and his brother-in-law Alanca *Modeliar* and the son of the black captain prisoners, and out of favour with the Portuguese (all brought about by his industry to this end), forthwith took steps to prosecute the war on Cota, and not to desist therefrom until he had made himself master of that kingdom. And mustering his armies, he sent his son Raju, whom he was training and inciting to acts of bravery, that he might afterwards kill him [Máyádunné] and his legitimate brothers and make himself king (as we shall relate in the Eleventh[2] Decade, Madune paying for his tyranny at the hands of his own son), to prosecute the war and lay siege to Cota: which he did, sallying forth from Ceitavaca with a large army; and invading that king's territories, he marched on causing great havoc and pillaging[3].

There was at this time in the city of Cota with that king Afonso Pereira de Lacerda with a few troops, and with those that he had he garrisoned the passes to the city, and fortified them as best he could, and on the rivers he distributed ten or twelve vessels, the captains of which were Fernaõ de Crasto, Domingos Rapozo, Joaõ Rodriguez Correa, Antonio de Espindola, Diogo Juzarte[4], Christovaõ das Neves, Gaspar Lopez, Vicente Bello, Antonio Fernandez, Gonçalo de Chaves, Antonio d'Araujo, Antonio Jorge, and Domingos Diaz, and as captain-major of the whole Fernaõ Perez Dandrade. These vessels

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[1] The account in the *Rájávaliya* (86) of Vídiye's flight and death is very different from Couto's. The version in Val. (*Ceylon* 81) is curious, and agrees with neither of the above. It runs:—"From there [' Conda Palla Nuwara'] he went on board ship in the bay of Portaloon or Putaleon, left for Jaffanapatnam, and betook himself to a haven or bay which is since called Anaxaddie or Anacse Heriatotta, that is, 'the passage of the king's crossing.' .... Vigea Rajoe with his son Jaja Palla Astana and their retinue went to the village of Tammaraccoelam; but there, after a very sudden but short fight, he was robbed of everything by the Malabaars."

[2] *Sic*, for Tenth (see *infra*, p. 271).

[3] The *Rájávaliya* does not record this.

[4] This man is mentioned again in VII. IX. vi. (p. 205).

went up and down preventing the passage of Rajù's troops, as well as making attacks on several of his father's villages, which they destroyed and burnt. The king of Cota, although he was in an impoverished condition, yet mustered his troops, and put in the field some *modeliares*, who had many encounters with the enemy in which there was loss on each side. And since these assaults were many and unimportant, and we do not find a record of anything noteworthy, we shall pass them over: enough that they spent part of the summer and all this winter[1] in waging all the war they could, and so we shall leave them until we return to them.

DEC. VII., BK. III., CHAP. X.

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This prince[2], they say, went and landed in the island of Ceilaõ, having taken with him a large number and throng of *jogues*, his disciples, and that he took up his abode on that mountain range where is Adam's Peak, where he lived many years leading a holy life. And desiring to depart thence, his disciples, who remained there, begged him to leave them some memorial of him: upon which, planting his foot upon a slab of rock, he impressed in it that footprint, as if he had done it in a little soft wax, the which they venerate and reverence as that of our father Adam; and it is held by all in such veneration, as I have described in the twentieth[3] chapter of the sixth book of my Fifth Decade, where I relate this matter of this footprint very minutely, and show that this island of Ceilaõ is the Tapobrana of Ptolemy, in which I treat of many curious things which no previous writer has written of. This prince is called in their writings by many names: but the principal one is Drama Raio; and after that they held him for a saint they called him Budon, which means "sage," to whom this heathenry have erected all over India many very costly and sumptuous *pagodes*; and in his legend they relate great marvels, which, in order not to surfeit and weary the reader, I refrain from setting down.

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[1] This should mean the first eight months of 1556: but when we return to the king of Kóṭṭé and his Portuguese allies (in VII. IX. vi., p. 204) we shall find that there is a hiatus, or else Couto has run several years together.

[2] See V. VI. ii. (p. 113), where the same details are given in almost identical words.

[3] This should be "second."

Dec. VII., Bk. v., Chap. viii.

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...... Having arrived at Goa in a few days[1], he [the governor Francisco Barreto] dispatched the supplies for Ceilaõ, Malaca, and Maluco, and with this the winter set in, ...

Dec. VII., Bk. vi., Chap. vii.

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Having done all this very methodically, he [the viceroy, Dom Constantino de Bragança[2]] embarked at the end of March, and in a few days arrived at Goa, where he was very well received, and at once dealt with the supplies for the fortresses of Ceilaõ, Malaca, and Maluco. ...... And at the same time he dispatched Dom Jorge de Meneses Baroche[3] as captain of Ceilaõ, and ordered Afonso Pereira de Lacerda to return, and with this the winter set in.

Dec. VII., Bk. vii., Chap. iii.

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...... And by the same opportunity he [the viceroy] sent many supplies to Malaca and Ceilaõ[4].

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Dec. VII., Bk. viii., Chap. ii.

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...... And to the bishopric of Cochim[5] he [the archbishop of Lisbon] assigned from Cananor to Bengala, and Pegû, with the coast of the Fishery, Negapataõ, and Saõ Thome, with the large and beautiful island of Ceilaõ, with all the rest

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[1] In April 1558.

[2] 1558–61.

[3] This last name is a title assumed by D. Jorge de Menezes after his capture of Broach in 1547.

[4] This is a repetition of the statement made in VII. vi. vii.

[5] King Sebastião (or rather his grandmother the regent) had asked of the pope, and the latter had granted, that the bishopric of Goa should be elevated to an archbishopric, new bishoprics being created for Cochin and Malacca.

adjacent to them and to all the coast, separating from it the great and widespread Christianity that lies in the interior of Cochim, Cranganor, and Coulaõ, and in the mountains of Malavar, which was ruled and governed by Armenian archbishops and bishops that follow the false sect of the heresiarch Nestor, ...

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Dec. VII., Bk. viii., Chap. x.

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And the winter setting in[1], he [the viceroy] spent it in revising the general muster-roll, and in making a new one, in order to exclude from it all the artizan mechanics that received the king's pay, who were a great number, by which he saved the state a good sum of money, and prevented an excessive number of old soldiers, who were always paid either by patronages or by bribes[2]; and at the same time he ordered the whole fleet to be got ready, and many provisions and munitions to be collected, as he had determined to cross over to Ceilaõ against the king of Jafanapataõ, which lies at the northern point of the island; because the king[3] (in an instruction) had strongly recommended him to take steps to destroy him and capture his kingdom, because he was there acting the pirate and had ordered all the ships and vessels of the Portuguese that passed by his coast to be set upon, and was using stratagems to get them to put in to the coast, so as to rob them[4], sending by night to cut their cables, by which means he had committed great robberies and destructions; and to strive as much as possible to transfer to that part the inhabitants of the town of Saõ Thome, so that they might not be subjected to the insults and affronts that the king of Bisnagà sought to offer to them,

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[1] In May 1560.

[2] In the fleet of 1559 there left Portugal for India nearly three thousand men of arms. Couto himself, a lad of 15, came out in the admiral ship, the *Flor de la mar*, as he tells us in VII. viii. ii.

[3] By "the king" is apparently meant Dom Sebastião, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his grandfather D. João III., 11 June 1557. But as D. Sebastião was at this time (1560) only six years of age, we must suppose that the "instruction" referred to came from the regent, his grandmother Dona Catharina, and his uncle the cardinal D. Henrique. In this year the Inquisition with all its horrors was established in India.

[4] *Cf.* the statement of Xavier quoted on p. 120, note [5].

because the king had already had news of those that he had put upon them, when he made all of them captives[1]: and these instructions we cannot find in the whole of this state[2], they being entirely lost, of which we have many times complained[3]; but these details we have obtained from old and ancient men.

Dec. VII., Bk. ix., Chap. i.

Of the great armada with which the viceroy Dom Constantino set out for Jafanapataõ: and of what took place until he arrived there.

The viceroy Dom Constantino spent the whole of the winter in getting ready the armada which he intended to take to Jafanapataõ, and in collecting the stores for that expedition[4]: and at the beginning of August [1560] he set afloat all the vessels and fitted out and supplied them with provisions and munitions, and began to make a general payment to all. And already by the beginning of September they were all so far ready, that the viceroy embarked; and having first made over the government to Dom Pedro de Meneses the Red, who was captain of Goa, he left an order for the licentiate Belchior Serraõ, *veador da fazenda*, to go and superintend the loading of the ships[5] at Cochim, and left him all the powers as regards revenue for anything that might happen.

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While the viceroy was already at the bar giving his last orders before setting sail, it being the 4th of September, there arrived the ship *Conceiçaõ*, which remained at Mossambique the previous year to winter, and then on the following day there arrived ten or twelve vessels from Chaul and Baçaim to accompany him on that expedition. Amongst others there came by these Dom Pedro Dalmeida, captain of Baçaim,

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[1] These events, which took place in 1558, are related by Couto in VII. vii. i. The king of Bisnagà (Vijayanagar) referred to was Ráma Ráya (see Sewell's *Forg. Emp.* 193–4). How the proposed transplantation of Christians from São Thomé succeeded, we shall see in VII. ix. iii.

[2] That is, India, which was always referred to by the Portuguese historians and in official documents under this term (*estado*).

[3] Throughout his Decades we find Couto again and again making complaint of the absence from the archives at Goa of official documents that ought to have been there.

[4] See *supra*, VII. viii. x. (p. 180).

[5] The ships for Portugal. Four only, of the fleet of six that left Lisbon in April, reached Cochin in November and December. Of two of these we shall read in VII. ix. v. (see p. 202).

who had left the fortress in charge of Manoel da Veiga, factor and *alcaide mór*. There came also Dom Luis Dalmeida his brother, Ayres de Saldanha, and other fidalgos. And the viceroy learning that Dom Pedro Dalmeida had come there, leaving his fortress (on the top of other past escapades at which the viceroy Dom Constantino had been annoyed), he would not see him, but on the contrary ordered him to be taken to the fortress by the chief justice, and that he should be sent as a prisoner to one of the passes of the island[1]: and the vessels that had come in his company he ordered to be equipped anew, and divided them amongst Ayres de Saldanha and others. And on the eve of our Lady, the 7th of September, he set sail with a fine fleet of twelve galleys and ten galliots and seventy rowing vessels including foists and *catures*.

The captains of the galleys were :—The viceroy, of the royal galley; Dom Antonio de Noronha Catarras, of the galley *Santiago*; Bastiaõ de Sá, of the galley *Saõ Luis*; Martim Afonso de Miranda, of the galley *Saõ Miguel*; Andre de Sousa, son of the controller of the cardinal Dom Anrique, of the galley *Vitoria*; Fernaõ de Sousa de Castellobranco, of the galley *Conceiçaõ*; Goncalo Falcaõ, of the galley *Chagas*; Lionel de Sousa, of the galley *Monserrate*; and Dom Lionis Pereira and Ayres Falcaõ in two others.

Those of the galliots were :—Duarte do Soveral, whom the viceroy took in order to go over to his vessel if necessary; Dom Antonio Manoel; Francisco de Mello, brother of the king's huntsman; Dom Jorge de Meneses, who was afterwards chief ensign of the kingdom; Ayres de Saldanha; Martim Afonso de Mello, nicknamed *Hombrinhos*[2]; Jorge de Moura; Fernaõ Gomez Cordovil; Lourenço Pimentel, in a galliot that had belonged to the Rooms; and others.

The captains of the foists were :—Dom Joaõ de Castellobranco, son of Dom Pedro de Castellobranco, who was captain of Ormuz, and brother of the Conde de Villanova; Anrique de Sá; Francisco de Sousa Tavares the Lame; Garcia Rodriguez de Tavora; Dom Francisco Dalmeida, who was afterwards captain of Tangier; Dom Filipe de Meneses, brother of Dom Joaõ Tello, who was afterwards one of the governors of the kingdom; Alvaro de Mendoça; Pero de Mesquita; Pero Peixoto da Sylva; Nuno de Mendoça; Dom Paulo de Lima; Nuno Furtado de Mendoça; Dom Payo de Noronha; Fernaõ de Crasto; Tristaõ de Sousa, son of the governor Martim

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[1] I do not know what Dom Pedro's escapades were, to which Couto refers. He was released from his imprisonment, and sent back to Baçaim to complete his term of office, in April 1561.

[2] "Little shoulders."

Afonso de Sousa; Fernaõ de Miranda d'Azevedo, son of Antonio de Miranda, who was captain-major of the Indian Sea at the time of the differences between Pero Mascarenhas and Lopo Vaz de Sampayo; Dom Pedro de Crasto, son of Dom Diogo de Crasto, *alcaide mór* of Evora; Joaõ Lopez Leitaõ; Manoel de Mendanha; Afonso Pereira de Lacerda[1]; Gil de Goes; Martim Afonso de Sousa; Pero de Mendoça, who was called *Larim*, because of being very thin[2], son of Tristaõ de Mendoça; Bastiaõ de Resende, a natural son of Garcia de Resende, he that wrote the chronicle of the king Dom Joaõ the Second[3]; Antonio Ferraõ, married to a bastard daughter of Nuno da Cunha; Agostinho Nunez[4], son of Leonardo Nunez, chief physician to the king Dom Joaõ; Bertolameu Chanoca, secretary of the state; Vicente Carvalho; Francisco da Cunha; Luis d'Aguiar; Polinario de Valdarama, the viceroy's equerry, who had charge of his horses; Manoel da Sylveira; Andre de Villalobos; Antonio Nunez of Cananor; Christovaõ de Faria; Pero Semxemos; Duarte Ferreira; Diogo Madeira; Jeronymo de Magalhães; and many others, whose names I cannot find.

The viceroy pursuing his voyage with all this fleet had got as far as the islets of Onor[5], when he encountered a storm from the south-west[6] so severe, that the whole fleet was forced to turn stern on to it; and with great trouble they managed to cast anchor at the islets of Angediva, where they were detained four or five days until the wind had ceased, when they resumed their voyage, and in a few days arrived at Cochim, where the viceroy landed to give orders about various matters, and the city gave him a very grand reception, but he would not take up his lodging there, but remained in his galley attending to

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[1] The late captain of Ceylon, whence he must have returned at the end of 1559 (*cf. supra*, VII. vi. vii., p. 179, and *infra*, VII. ix. vi., p. 205).

[2] The allusion is, of course, to the shape of this curious coin, the larin being a thin silver bar or rod, sometimes bent over in the form of a hook (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Larin," and the pictures of the coin in Pyr. i. 232, 234).

[3] *Chronica que tracta da vida ...... do ...... Dom Joaõ ho Segundo*, &c., Lisbon, 1596.

[4] In Garcia da Orta's fifty-eighth *Coloquio*, his friend the physician Dimas Bosque mentions the presence in this expedition of Agostinho Nunez, also of himself (see *infra*, p. 196, note [1]).

[5] Onor is Honávar, a town and port of Kanara (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Honore"). The "islets" here mentioned are doubtless Hog and Pigeon Islands south of Honávar.

[6] A storm off the west coast of India in September is rare, but not unknown.

much business; and he dispatched Fernaõ Gomez Cordovil to go to the town of Saõ Thome and get the inhabitants to cross over to Jafanapataõ[1], to whom he wrote very flattering letters in which he urged them to do this, because it was to the credit neither of the Portuguese nor of them that they should remain in that town, exposed to affronts and insults which the Canarâs[2] could put upon them whenever they wished. And that the kingdom of Jafanapataõ had many and good ports, where they could carry on by sea their traffic and merchandize; and that the country was very fertile and abounding in everything; and that he would apportion them in such a manner that they would live more comfortably and with less alarms; and that they were to be ready when he sent vessels to bring them over. . . . . . .

Having arranged everything, the viceroy set out, and in his company the bishop of Cochim Dom Jorge Temudo in a galliot, who wished to accompany him on that expedition, that island belonging to his jurisdiction[3], and five or six other vessels that were equipped in that city. With the whole of this fleet he passed Cape Comorim, and went as far as the shoals of Chilao, and as the galleys could not cross them, he sent them back to Cochim, in charge of Vicente Correa, the navy surveyor of India, and the viceroy went on board the galliot of Inofre[4] do Soveral, and the captains of the other galleys on to other rowing vessels; and Ayres Falcaõ alone went crossing in his galliot; and when all had reached the middle of the shoals[5], he alone struck on them with his sails set; and a very big sea that came rolling up struck his vessel on the poop and lifted it off again, and with that violence he got over them to the other side without perishing, and from there went with all the fleet and anchored over against Jafanapataõ[6].

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[1] See *supra*, VII. VIII. x. (p. 180).

[2] The Portuguese applied this name to the inhabitants of Vijayanagar (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Canara").

[3] See *supra*, VII. VIII. ii. (p. 179). D. Jorge Themudo, of the order of St. Dominick, had come out from Portugal the previous year. It was in his company that Couto came (see p. 180, note [2]).

[4] Previously Couto calls him *Duarte*. There was an Inofre (Humphrey) de Soveral in the East at this time, but I cannot say which name is correct here.

[5] Apparently the fleet passed through one of the openings in Adam's Bridge.

[6] What direction the vessels took after passing Adam's Bridge is not said; but from the statement that they anchored "over against Jafanapataõ" it would seem that they took their course between Mandatívu and Kalmuṉai.

Dec. VII., Bk. ix., Chap. ii.

Of the council that the viceroy Dom Constantino held regarding the method of disembarkation: and of how he went on shore, and captured the city: and of the incidents that occurred in the entering of it.

The viceroy, having cast anchor over against the city of Jafanapatað, spent two days in taking counsel as to the manner in which the disembarkation should be made, regarding which there were differences of opinion amongst the captains, and all voted according to the information they had received from men that knew the country, who affirmed that the city had only two places where one could disembark: the first, and most usual, called the Elephants' Quay[1], which lies at the entrance to the city, just as does the stone quay at Lisbon[2], or the customhouse quay at Goa[3], which that king had strongly fortified with *tranqueiras* and artillery; the other was half a league from there at some distance from the city[4], which although it might be more troublesome would involve less risk, because that king had no fear regarding it. The majority of the council therefore voted that it was at this place that they should disembark.

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[1] In the original "o caes dos elefantes." In the seventeenth century the Elephants' Quay (so called, because from it were shipped elephants for transport to India, &c.) was on the island of Káraittívu, as can be seen from the maps in Baldæus's *Ceylon*, the fact also being stated by him in chap. xlvi. (English trans.). On the little islet opposite, between Káraittívu and Vélanai, the Portuguese built a fort, which they named "fortaleza do caes" (renamed by the Dutch Fort Hammenhiel). Through some strange blunder the word *caes* as a proper name got transferred to a place on Vélanai, which still exists and flourishes under the name of Kayts! (see *C. Lit. Reg.* i. 24, v. 115).

[2] See the plan of Lisbon in the sixteenth century in Morse Stephens's *Portugal* 239.

[3] See the plan of Goa in Baldæus's *Malabar and Coromandel*, fig. 41.

[4] In the absence of any contemporary description or accurate map of Jaffnapatam and its vicinity, it is difficult to follow Couto. He describes the *caes dos elefantes* as lying "at the entrance to the city," like the quays he names at Lisbon and Goa; but, as I have said above, the Elephants' Quay, as the Dutch maps of Ceylon show, was on the island of Káraittívu, at some distance from the town of Jaffna. In Ressende's map of Jaffna, however, the *fortaleza do caes* is shown on a point of land very near to the fort, a narrow channel intervening. Where the "other" place was, half a league (say two miles) from the town, it is not easy to say. It may have been Nivanturai to the west of Jaffna, or (more likely) Karaiyúr or Pásaiyur to the east.

It having been settled that it was to be at this place, the viceroy arranged the order of disembarkation, and mustered all the troops, and found no more than one thousand two hundred men, although in Goa pay had been received by more than four thousand (it being the custom, when viceroys embarked, to make a general payment to all, even to the Portuguese officials and the *casados*[1], and for those to embark that liked; because by means of this bounty and liberality this state was always increased and sustained). Of all these soldiers the viceroy Dom Constantino formed five companies of two hundred men each[2], as captains of which he appointed Luis de Mello da Sylva[3], to whom he had given the leadership of that expedition, Dom Antonio de Noronha Catarras, Martim Afonso de Miranda, Gonçalo Falcaõ, and Fernaõ de Sousa de Castellobranco, while the viceroy remained to bring up the rearguard with the banner of Christ, with all the fidalgo adventurers and people of his retinue, who formed a very considerable body.

All having been arranged, the viceroy ordered an altar to be set up on an islet that was there[4], in which a very devout mass to our Lady was said, at which he and the greater part of the fidalgos and men of the fleet communicated with much devoutness, and the bishop of Cochim gave them a general absolution, and conceded the great and plenary jubilees[5] that the supreme pontiffs had granted at the instance of the king Dom Manoel for all those that might be killed in battle in India fighting for the faith of Christ[6]. This holy and divine act

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[1] Literally "married men." Regarding them see C. A. S. Jl. xi. 508, *n.*

[2] The viceroy himself evidently commanding the extra two hundred.

[3] This man is not mentioned in the list of captains in the previous chapter.

[4] Probably Siritívu, the islet between Mandaitívu and Jaffna.

[5] See *New Eng. Dict. s.v.* "Jubilee," 2.

[6] In *Alg. Doc.* 146 is printed the summary of a bull issued by pope Julius II. at Rome, 12 July 1506, conceding "plenary indulgence for all sins to the faithful of both sexes who by order of the king (Dom Manuel) shall go out to India, or shall reside there, or die there." In the same volume, p. 363, is the summary of another bull, by Leo X., dated Rome, 18 of the kalends of October (14 September) 1514, granting plenary indulgence to those serving in the conquests of Africa, Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India. On p. 455 is the summary of another bull of Leo X.'s, dated Rome, 12 kal. of October (20 September) 1521, in which the scope of the indulgence is extended to all the Portuguese acquisitions in the Red Sea, Persia, Malacca, Sumatra, and China, and to those that died at sea as well as on land.

being ended, they dined, and from two o'clock onward they set about the disembarkation: and on setting foot on land, there came to meet them the hereditary prince[1] of the kingdom with two thousand men, he being conspicuous in the front with a shield entirely white[2], uttering their battle-cries and shouts of defiance like men that intended to prevent the disembarkation. But by running the prows of the vessels ashore they played upon them with the falcons in such a fashion that they quitted the field, and betook themselves to the jungles, without a single one's reappearing, and our people had the opportunity of landing entirely at their ease; and the first captain that leapt on shore was Gonçalo Falcaõ, on account of a suspicion that attached to him through certain words that he had with the viceroy at the council regarding the disembarkation.

All our people having landed, they formed their companies, and in front of all rose in the air the banner of Christ crucified, which a father of St. Dominick bore on a long staff, so that it might be seen by all those that were to fight under its protection, and there it was adored by all and acclaimed with a general voice. Thereupon Luis de Mello da Sylva, who led the van, began to march towards the city, guided by men that knew the way, and just behind him Dom Antonio de Noronha Catarras, who took a short cut through some jungle, so that when he came again into the open he found himself in front of Luis de Mello da Sylva, and halting sent word to him to pass in advance, because he was waiting to accompany him: and so they went on until they came in sight of the city, which had at that part a fine street, and in the middle of it were two large pieces of artillery covered with palmyra leaves so that our people should not see them.

Luis de Mello da Sylva advancing on this street, Dom Fernando de Meneses the Nosy[3] (who was on in front) told him to look out how he went, because what they saw was artillery. He had not even finished speaking when one of the pieces was discharged, and it pleased our Lord that it overcarried, because they had sighted it too high, and it went passing over without doing any damage. Luis de Mello da Sylva seeing that sent word to all to take to the shelter of the houses on each side, all of which had large porches projecting outward, and beneath these they hastened for refuge, which could not

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[1] I cannot identify this man, who, it will be seen from the next chapter, was delivered as a hostage to the Portuguese, and by them conveyed as a prisoner to Goa.

[2] Doubtless a chank shield (*cf. Rájáv.* 72, where "a conch and shield" should be "a chank shield").

[3] Original "o Narigaõ" = "the Big Nose."

be managed quickly enough, before the other ball came down the street with a great roar and shaking of the earth ; and as it came lower down, it struck the ensign of Luis de Mello da Sylva's company (who was a certain Sardinha) in the legs, and broke them, so that he straightway fell dead ; and in its flight it caught two other persons, among whom was a Castilian; and apparently some small piece of iron reached Luis de Mello da Sylva, and caused a slight wound on the ball of his cheek, from which a good deal of blood ran down his fine long beard, which made him even handsomer and nobler looking. At the same time that the ensign fell with the banner, Joaõ Pessoa, son of Antonio Pessoa, who followed near by, ran and quickly raised the banner aloft, and began to march forward along the street, until he had placed it over those pieces of artillery, not however before there came another ball, which struck down four or five men of the company of Ayres de Saldanha, who was going in that of Luis de Mello da Sylva.

The artillery having been captured, Luis de Mello da Sylva sent word to the viceroy, and he passed forward, breaking through clouds of arrows and bullets, with which several were slightly wounded. A bullet struck Dom Felippe de Meneses on his Adam's apple, but he was so fortunate that it glanced off, without doing him more harm than leaving on the point of the apple a very red and beautiful mark.

The prince of Jafanapataõ[1] hastened to that street along which our people were going, and had an encounter with them, which lasted but a short time, because at the points of their spears they drove him back to the top of the street ; he then went by another that opened into that one, whereby he came upon Gonçalo Falcaõ with his company, who attacked the prince's forces and had a stiff battle with them, and at great risk, because from the tops of the roofs and from the gardens of the houses they shot arrows at our people at their pleasure.

The viceroy was already entering the great street, riding on a beautiful horse with long stirrups armed with good arms, with the guidon of Christ in front, and surrounded by many fidalgos and knights ; and receiving news that Gonçalo Falcaõ was in danger, he told those fidalgos and captains to succour him, and it being just at the time that Dom Antonio de Noronha Catarras met him with his company and heard this he said : " I, sir, am equal to this ;" and turning he went forward along the street, until he reached the part where Gonçalo Falcaõ was in straits ; and on his arrival the street was soon cleared, where was a piece of artillery, which our

[1] Presumably the hereditary prince spoken of above.

people turned about down the street which led to the Elephants' Quay, where the king was with all his army; and firing upon them, they caused great destruction amongst them.

The king, seeing how badly things had fallen out, and that the city had been entered by our people, retired with all his army to his palace (which was a fair-sized fortress) with the intention of defending himself therein. Luis de Mello da Sylva entered into a very wide street that led to the parade-ground of the palace, and at the top of it halted, and sent a message to the viceroy to know what he wished him to do, and the latter galloped off on his horse until he reached Luis Mello da Sylva, to whom he spoke in very flattering terms. And as it was already near nightfall he agreed with the captains that they should pass that night there, and on the following day attack the houses of the king, where he already knew that he had fortified himself. And then he arranged the manner in which the guard should be kept of the street, and at night, and divided the streets that led to the parade-ground amongst the captains of the companies, for them to fortify themselves at the entrances to them, which they set to work to do, for this purpose pulling down several houses; and all the rest that were in these streets, which were covered with thatch[1], they ordered to be unroofed, so that the enemy should not set fire to them in order to embarrass them. The viceroy remained at the entrance to the great street on a gallery, where they laid for him a carpet with some pillows, in which he passed the whole night armed, and from there he dispatched a captain to the armada to bring them food and munitions: which was done with great speed, without anyone's being encountered to hinder it. There our people passed the whole night with great vigilance, and with their arms constantly in their hands, and the viceroy sent out some spies to learn what the king was doing, and if there were any stir where he was.

The prince did not care to go with his father into the fortress, but remained outside with all his troops; and as soon as he saw our people fortified at the entrances to the streets, determined forthwith to attack them in the rear in the daylight watch, to which end he also sent out some spies, to see the manner in which our people lay. One of these went along a street where Dom Antonio de Noronha was with his company; and along the walls very secretly he went approaching the encampments; and it pleased God that there went watching in the same street, and walking at some distance from the troops, a soldier, named Francisco da Costa (who

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[1] The original has *palha* = straw; but it is more likely that the houses were covered with palmyra leaves.

still[1] lives, married in this city of Goa, rich and honoured), and he chanced to descry a person ; and on going to approach him, the spy when he saw him, for greater pretence, squatted on his hams, as if he were easing himself, in order that he might think from the confidence that he displayed that he was a servant of the company. Francisco da Costa coming to him asked him who he was, and also put his hand on his arm ; upon which the black tried to sneak away, but could not, because Francisco da Costa seized him in his arms and carried him to Dom Antonio de Noronha, and gave him an account of the circumstances under which he found him ; and he told him to take him to the viceroy, since he had captured him, that he might thank him for it : and so he did. The viceroy ordered him to be bound and put to the torture, and at once he confessed that the prince had sent him to spy out the manner in which he lay, because he had determined to attack him in the daylight watch, that he had sent out other eight or ten spies, and that the king was fortified in his palace, and that the prince was waiting with two or three thousand men for word from the spies to attack our people.

The viceroy after getting the information that he desired sent to warn all the captains to hold themselves in readiness and to allow no negligence. Whereupon all got up, and stood with their arms in their hands waiting for the hour, and thus they remained until dawn without there being any alarm : because it seems that on the return of the spies that the prince had sent out this one was missing ; and surmising that he might have been captured, and that our people would be on the alert, he abandoned his intention and went to the king, who on the news that he gave him resolved not to await the viceroy there. Therefore ordering to be taken from there the things of most importance, as soon as the daylight watch came he set fire to the palace, and retired to a fortress that lay a league and a half from there, built entirely of unburnt bricks, with its bastions and round turrets, very well made and pretty strong[2].

The viceroy on seeing that fire at once guessed what it might be, but he did not wish that any steps should be taken until it was full daylight, when he saw that the palace was on fire, and then he had information of all that had happened ;

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[1] *Circa* 1604. No doubt Couto got these details from this man.

[2] This may have been at Nallúr, a few miles north-east of the present Jaffna fort, where, according to Casie Chitty, the royal palace stood (see C. As. Soc. Jl. No. 3, 1847–8, p. 72, *n.*). The map of Petrus Plancius (? 1585) shows it slightly south-east of thé city, but this is probably a mere guess.

and arranging his companies in the form they had hitherto had, he entered the city, which was a large one, and found it abandoned, because its inhabitants had retired to the neighbouring villages, and so our people were left masters of it, and of the Elephants' Quay, where was the greater part of their artillery, and of various things that our soldiers found there. And from one *pagode*, their principal one, they brought to the viceroy an enchased tooth, which was commonly called that of an ape, which was held amongst all those heathens as the most sacred object of all those of their worship[1]: of which the viceroy was immediately advised, and they assured him that it was the greatest treasure that he could have got, because they must needs give him a large sum of gold for it.

Those heathens had it that this tooth was that of their Budaõ (who is that great saint of theirs, of whom we have already given an account in other Decades when we spoke of the footprint on Adam's Peak and of the population of Pegù[2]). In his legend they relate that this Budaõ after he had been to Ceilaõ went to the regions of Pegù, and through all those kingdoms, converting the heathens and working miracles; and that when he wished to die, he wrenched from his mouth that tooth, and sent it to Ceilaõ as a very great relic of his. And thus it was considered so great among them, and among all the heathenry of the kingdoms of Pegù, that there was nothing that they valued more highly: so much so, that Dom Joaõ of Cota finding himself in need fabricated a false tooth, and set it in gold, and ordered to be made for it a very costly *charola*[3], in which he put it, and sent it carefully

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[1] This is one of the most puzzling incidents in Ceylon history. If this was really the *daḷadá*, how came it to be in a Hindu temple in Jaffna? Was it among the "treasures" that Tribuli Pandar (Vídiye Rája) carried with him when he fled from Muṇḍakoṇḍapola? (See p. 176.) If so, how did he come by it? In the *Mahávaṅsa* xci. 17–9 we read of Parákrama Báhu VI.'s making caskets for the tooth relic *circa* 1420; and the relic is not mentioned again until after 1592, when we are told (xciv. 11–4) that Vimala Dharma Súrya (Dom João) having heard that the tooth was preserved in Delgamuwa (how and when did it get there?) brought it to Kandy and built a relic-house for it. See on the subject Ten. ii. 29–30, 198–9; J. Gerson da Cunha's *Memoir on the History of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon* 40 ff.; Pyr. ii. 145, *n.* The earliest writer that records the capture of the *daḷadá* by the Portuguese is Linschoten (i. 292–4); but his account is full of errors, the most noteworthy being that the relic was dug up from the basement of a cloister on Adam's Peak!

[2] See pp. 108, 112–4.

[3] See p. 245, note [3].

concealed from the Portuguese to the king of Pegù, who received it with the greatest festivities that can be imagined, of which with the divine favour we shall give a fuller account further on in the Eighth Decade[1]; and that king sent him a fine ship laden with provisions and other things as a present with the ship and all that was in it: and so they assured the viceroy that that king would give for that tooth a great treasure.

DEC. VII., BK. IX., CHAP. iii

Of how the viceroy Dom Constantino went against the fortress where the king was, and found it abandoned, and sent some captains in pursuit of the king: and of the extremity in which they placed him, until they came to join battle.

The viceroy Dom Constantino, seeing himself master of the city, and learning from spies that the king had betaken himself to a fortress a league and a half from there, determined to go and attack him, but first he arranged various matters. And among these was to send to the neighbouring villages royal safeguards and to issue proclamations, to the effect that the natives might bring him the provisions they had, for which he would pay them very well; and that the inhabitants of the city should come and live in their houses, and he would do them all the favours and give them all the liberties they desired: upon which they began to come in, and the villagers to bring fowls, chickens, butter, figs[2], and many other things in great abundance. And because rice was wanting, he immediately dispatched a vessel with letters to Joaõ Fernandez Correa[3], captain of Negapataõ, in which he begged him to help him with all the rice he could; and he gave orders to collect all the vessels that there were in the country and on that coast, which were a very great number, and sent them to Saõ Thome to embark therein the inhabitants of that town[4], to whom he once more wrote very flattering letters, in which he begged and prayed them to come over to that kingdom, where they would live full-fed, rich, and free from the alarms that they suffered every day there; and he would divide amongst all of

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[1] See VIII. xii.–xiii. (pp. 243–53).

[2] That is, plantains, which the Portuguese called "figs of India" (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Plantain").

[3] See *supra*, p. 96.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 180, 184.

them the lands and villages, those that he wished to grant to them being very prosperous and abundant.

These things and others having been disposed of, the viceroy arranged to go in person against that king, and to make an end of destroying him once for all for the greater security of those territories: because he was so bad and cruel, that at the gate of his palace our people found a very huge block on which every day he ordered many of his vassals to be beheaded; and to do this it was not necessary to have many trials or proofs of crimes, since there sufficed for it a very little story, and even a suspicion, imagination, or dream. After having got ready everything that he needed for the expedition, he left some captains of vessels in guard of the city, and of the bishop of Cochim, who remained there with the deputy provincial of St. Francis and some friars of his order, who with that zeal that they always had for the things of our religion and increase of our holy Catholic faith began to convert some natives and to baptize with great love and charity. The viceroy went marching towards the fortress in the same order in which he entered the city, Luis de Mello da Sylva leading the van, and in the middle all the baggage and artillery, with which the fortress was to be assailed; and on arriving in sight of it, there came to him the spies that he had sent out, who told him that in that hour the king had departed from there, as he did not dare to await him, and that the fortress was abandoned.

Upon this good news the viceroy Dom Constantino entered the fortress amid great rejoicings and salvos of harquebusery, and ordered the banner with the arms of Portugal to be hoisted on the battlements, taking possession of it peacefully, as his father the duke Dom Gemez had formerly done of the famous city of Azamor in Africa. That day he lodged in the fortress, and on the next he ordered through a general council that the king should be pursued, since he was fleeing in disorder, until they had him in their hands, and that for this purpose there should go four captains, Luis de Mello da Sylva, Martim Afonso de Miranda, Gonçalo Falcaõ, and Fernaõ de Sousa de Castellobranco. And because there began to be doubts and differences amongst them regarding the command and rule, the viceroy delivered to them three dice, and told them that each day they were to cast lots, and he that cast most was to rule that day: on which they were appeased, and that first day Luis de Mello da Sylva led the van and had the rule without lot, since all consented to this.

Thus they went marching, guided by some spies, who from pure malice led them away from the road that the king had taken, and by one turning after another made them lose three

days, until they reached a river[1] that divides the territories of Jafanapatão from the kingdom of Trinquinimalle[2], which would be an eight leagues' march from the fortress[3]. There they got tidings that the king had crossed to the other side, which they likewise immediately did[4], and on the other side they found some forty headless men, who seemed to be Chingallas[5] killed that day, by which it appears that the king was near, and it was not known what that could be ; but as he was cruel and wicked, it was presumed that he had entertained some suspicion of them, and for this cause had ordered that carnage to be wrought amongst them. And on the other side of the river they came upon a broad road, along which they marched until they met with narrow ones, which they found obstructed with large trees that the enemy kept on cutting down in one place and another in order to hinder our people, and through these they passed with great trouble. And as soon as it was night, they pitched their camp in the spot that seemed to them best, where they passed the night with great vigilance. In this manner they marched for five days, meeting on that road with many villages, where they bought cows, milk, fowls, and other things.

At the end of these days at the hour of dinner they came in sight of the king's arrayal, which was at the top of some fields, with a large and dense jungle behind it ; and so suddenly did they come upon him, that he had only time to get upon an elephant and set off with all his people after him[6], leaving in

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[1] This is the salt lake dividing the Jaffna peninsula from the mainland. In the map of Petrus Plancius it is shown as a river running west and north-west, and is described as "Rio de Don Constantino o des Barataron," "river of Dom Constantino [where] they routed him" (*sic* !—of course the king of Jaffna is meant).

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 37; C. A. S. Jl. xi. 529; *C. Lit. Reg.* iii. 327, iv. 7. The map of Petrus Plancius does not make the "Reino de Triquilemale" reach to the "river" aforesaid.

[3] The distance from Jaffna town to Elephant Pass by the present road is about 33 miles, so that Couto's estimate is about right.

[4] These were probably the first Europeans to set foot in the Vaṇṇi.

[5] At this period there was probably a larger Sin̥halese population in the Vaṇṇi than is the case at present (*cf.* Lewis's *Manual of the Vaṇṇi Districts*, chap. vii.).

[6] In the map of Petrus Plancius a bare-legged king with a spear in his hand is shown riding on a bare-backed elephant. If this is meant for the king of Jaffna, the cartographer is far out, having located him south-west of Jaffna; moreover, he seems to be making for Maṇṇár. Just north of him is shown a road reaching almost across Ceylon, which is described as "Camino id est via regia."

the place where they were the pots with the food on the fire. Our captains, who were full of the desire to encounter him, as soon as they saw the camp, thinking that the king would wait for them, advanced to attack him in form of battle; and on reaching that place they found all that they had for dining, and the rice still hot, which our people appreciated much.

And as the sun was at its height, they lay down there and rested from the fatigue of the march; and taking counsel as to what they should do, they resolved that they would fortify themselves very strongly there and remain, and would send word to the viceroy of all that had occurred, and that what he should determine should be done, because there they were safe, and in the villages that were near were cows and other things with which they could sustain themselves until the viceroy sent them supplies. And thus they did, dispatching the message forthwith in haste, which as soon as the viceroy received, he immediately sent by all the sailors of the armada much rice, munitions, and other things, and wrote them to remain there until they got his reply, which they did.

That king, seeing his kingdom lost and himself pursued by our people so far that they had driven him out of his territories, thought it the wisest course to send and beg peace of the viceroy, and offer him what he asked for, before losing everything, and he therefore at once dispatched his ambassadors, whom the viceroy heard; and having come to terms, they concluded peace with the following conditions and articles:—That the king should remain in his kingdom as before, and should after his manner swear vassalage to the king of Portugal, with certain tribute of which we can find no record; and that he should deliver up to him at once all the treasure that he took from Tribuli Pandar, and his daughter-in-law the wife of the king of Çota[1]; and that in pledge of fulfilling this he should cede the hereditary prince. The terms having been agreed to and signed, he at once ceded the prince, whom the viceroy sent to the fleet safely guarded. Whilst this was in treaty, which was more than a fortnight, our captains who had gone in pursuit of the king suffered such hunger and want, through the rice that was sent to them being finished, and the villages depopulated from fear, that it was necessary for the captains to disperse the soldiers by bands to go to the villages to seek some things to eat; and both from hunger and fatigue the greater part of them fell sick; and those that remained in the city did not escape these troubles, nor those of the company of the viceroy, who in this emergency arranged as best he could, and ordered all the invalids to be

[1] See *supra*, p. 176.

brought into the fortress, where many died, and the rest convalesced very slowly, owing to their lacking remedies[1].

The viceroy, having obtained possession of the prince, proceeded to the river at the extremity of the territories, and sent to recall the captains that were on the other side, and there he waited more than a fortnight, during which there were delivered to him the things that by the treaty of peace that king had promised him, which might amount to some eighty thousand cruzados; and he also handed over some *olas* in which were entered descriptions of the places in Cota in which the treasures of Tribuli Pandar had been buried. At this time there came to see the viceroy Joaõ Fernandez Correa, captain of Negapataõ, who when he had there received the viceroy's letters had immediately sent him many vessels

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[1] The physician Dimas Bosque, who, as I have mentioned above (p. 183, note [4]), accompanied this expedition, refers to this outbreak of sickness amongst the Portuguese in Jaffna, and the means adopted to cure it. The passage is so interesting that I give it almost in full. In Garcia da Orta's fifty-eighth *Coloquio* Dimas says:—" When the viceroy Dom Constantino was in Jafanapatam, what with the continuous labours of the war, and the much wet to which the men were constantly exposed, and the lack of provisions, much people fell sick of fluxes, the cure of all of whom passed through my hands, there being no other physician in the armada. And as the medicines that had been taken from here [Goa] had already been used up in the island of Manar, with the sick on two ships from the kingdom [see *infra*, p. 202, note [1]], who arrived there in such bad condition that in the space of forty days I cured some three hundred men; and afterwards not having wherewith to relieve the fluxes, which were causing such trouble to the army, I found it necessary and was forced to experiment with what I had heard from the people of the country of these quinces; and with them I cured many persons, ordering to make jellies, and plasters for the stomach and belly. I also ordered to make marmalade, which did not taste bad, but on the contrary had a very pleasant acid flavour; I ordered the sick to eat them roasted with sugar; and I likewise ordered to make, during the time that these fluxes lasted, clysters from the decoction of the shells, and they had an effect not very different from the balausties and styptic things that we use here; in such wise that, with these quinces as we call them, the lack of other medicines was remedied. One thing I cannot omit to tell you, which happened to me with these quinces. Augustinho Nunez, son of Lionardo Nunez, chief physician of these realms, had many of his soldiers sick; and I ordered a black of his to roast two quinces, to give to an invalid soldier;" (they burst in the fire, and burnt the black severely). These quinces (*marmelos*) were, of course, the bael or *beli-gedi*, much used by the natives in cases of dysentery. While with this expedition Dimas Bosque also made dissections of dugongs (see G. da Orta ii. 385–6).

laden with rice, with which the armada was provided; and after that he set out with some vessels in order to take part in that expedition, whom the viceroy receiv d very cordially, and bestowed upon him honours and favours.

At about the same time there arrived three of the most respected and oldest inhabitants of the town of Saõ Thome with the reply to the letters that the viceroy had written to them regarding the transference to the kingdom of Jafanapataõ, by whom they all sent him great excuses for not doing what he had sent to ask them to do: because when they finally set about to embark, it was very hard for all to leave their houses, oarts[1], lands, and gardens, which had belonged to their ancestors, and which they had cultivated for so many years since; and that moreover it was not proper that that country should be depopulated where was the body of the blessed apostle Saint Thomas, which every day resplended with new miracles, with which they lived contented and consoled[2]: begging his pardon humbly for this. And as the viceroy had already been informed of everything by letters from Fernaõ Gomez Cordovil, he would neither see nor speak to these men, and at the end of many days he gave them an ill dispatch.[3]

Dec. VII., Bk. ix., Chap. iv.

Of the rising that took place against our people in Jafanapataõ: and of the siege that they laid to the fortress: and of how the viceroy escaped from the conspiracy, and retired by sea to the armada: and of the succour that he sent to the fortress, the captain of which was Dom Antonio de Noronha: and of what happened to him on the expedition.

Things being in this state, and the viceroy waiting for that king to complete the delivery to him of the treasures of Tribuli (because, from the information that he had, he hoped to get more than three hundred thousand cruzados), the natives of the whole of that kingdom hatched a general conspiracy against our people; and neither the cause nor the author of it was ever known, but it was on this wise. All being quite unsuspicious, of a sudden on the same day and at the same time they attacked the places where our people were, and all those that they found were put to the sword, without anyone's being spared. The bishop Dom Jorge Temudo,

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[1] Coconut gardens (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*).

[2] The first reason was the real one; the second a mere excuse to try and pacify the viceroy, who saw through it.

[3] For their sad fate see next chapter.

who was in the city, miraculously escaped falling into their hands, and with great trouble and risk to his person escaped to the vessels, several of our people however being killed there, and in the neighbouring villages all that they found (being for the most part Christians of the country, servants of Portuguese and *compradores*[1]). Those that attacked the fortress and the villages thereabouts found the deputy provincial of St. Francis and some of his fellow friars, who were engaged in making Christians, and all were put to the sword, suffering a glorious martyrdom for the faith of Christ our Lord : for so zealous was the bishop in this work of conversion, that he would not allow his catechumens to be meddled with ; and if anyone caused them any annoyance or injury, he flew into a great rage and fulminated, saying that they were not to meddle with his angelets : the which they took in such ill part, that they strove hard to get him into their power[2].

After these conspirators had attacked every place and done the evils that we have mentioned, they all united, and proceeded to lay siege to the fortress, where Fernaõ de Sousa de Castellobranco already was, whom the viceroy Dom Constantino had sent as captain of it, but who was ill, and began to make many assaults on it. Those that remained to attack the place where the viceroy Dom Constantino was[3] were so cunning as to send into his camp some blacks who a few days before had taken on the guise of domestics ; and as they knew that the viceroy Dom Constantino was devoted to the chase, through his having on several days gone on it around there, on the day of the general conspiracy they led him to believe that in a jungle near there were some deer, in order to bring him to that place, where they intended to fall upon him from an ambush ; and as the viceroy was much interested in this, he went with a few persons to look for the deer, in which he occupied the greater part of the day, and returned towards evening, without any disaster's happening to him ; and after the general conspiracy was known of, it was surmised that the viceroy escaped in that expedition that he made, either because of their not daring to set upon him through fear, or because the spies had mistaken the day. But the most probable is, that our Lord God blinded them, and delivered the viceroy : for if they had attacked him, all would have been lost, and not one of our people would have escaped, of as many as were in that kingdom, just as the three inhabitants of Saõ Thome did not escape, of whom we have related above

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[1] Buyers or brokers (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*).

[2] One of the causes of the insurrection is thus easily seen.

[3] At Elephant Pass (see previous chapter, p. 196).

that the viceroy Dom Constantino gave them an ill dispatch: for that same day they left him, and on the road were murdered with all their servants.

Of all this the viceroy was quite unaware, when on the morning of the following day he learnt the truth and certainty of the calamity that had occurred; and fearing other treacheries, he dispatched the captains of the companies to go along the river, by a road deviating from the ordinary one, and he embarked in some *manchuas*[1], which he had there always for service, so that communication with the armada might be quicker for him, because at that part the land went curving inland, and formed a bay, whereby the sea was for him a less distance than by land.

And after reaching the city, when he learnt of what had happened, and how the fortress was besieged and in great straits, he immediately dispatched Dom Antonio de Noronha Catarras with four hundred men divided into companies, the captains of which were Joaõ Fernandez Correa, captain of Negapataõ, and Andre de Villalobos, to go and succour the fortress, giving them orders to withdraw all that was in it and abandon it, because it was resolved in council that since the inhabitants of Saõ Thome did not wish to come and occupy that city, they should not saddle themselves with a thing that might afterwards give trouble to the state.

And to withdraw all that was in the fortress Dom Antonio de Noronha took all the sailors, servants, and slaves of the armada (because there were in the fortress more than two hundred sick, who could not retire on foot). And whilst Dom Antonio is on the march, we shall give an account of the events that took place in the fortress during this time.

It having been besieged by all the insurgents, they determined to take it by storm, because they well knew that the viceroy was sure to send help to it; and before they did so, they wished to make certain of this business, wherefore they prepared very long ladders of areca trees; and whilst they were making them, some of them by night came to speech with our people, and told them that the viceroy was dead and all that were with him, that therefore they must not expect help, and that if they surrendered they would spare their lives, but if not they must know that they would all be impaled. They answered them from above that they lied like dogs and curs as they were, that they had already received news of the viceroy (which was not the case, nor did they know how things went there), and that they were the ones who would have to pay for that impudence very soon. And because these who spoke

[1] Large cargo boats (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*).

with our people were those that were on the work of the ladders which were being made at a little distance where the arrayal was, Fernaõ de Sousa one night got ready sixty men camisated so as to recognize each other, who in the daybreak watch sallied forth in dead silence; and falling upon them of a sudden, they cut them down at their will, with such quickness that they tasted death before they perceived our people, and they took from them the ladders, with which they returned safely.

Dom Antonio de Noronha, who was going to succour them, went marching, Joaõ Fernandez Correa leading the van, and all along the road they kept fighting with the enemy, who rushed upon them from ambushes; and he kept such order, that he did not allow a single soldier to fall out until they came in sight of the fortress (which was on the day following their daylight victory of the ladders). The enemy seeing the succour took themselves off. That day and night Dom Antonio de Noronha spent in arranging for the abandonment of the fortress in connection with the things that had to be carried away, which were many, in respect of the manner in which the servants that there were should divide them.

On the morning of the following day he intrusted the sick to the sailors that he had selected for that purpose, and dragged out all the artillery there was, excepting only one large iron piece, which it was not possible to take away, which he ordered to be loaded with powder to the mouth, and fire set to it; and as it did not burst, he ordered it to be thrown into a deep well, so that the enemy should not make use of it. And amongst the things that Dom Antonio de Noronha found in the fortress was an imperial daïs, that was used by those kings at their most solemn feasts, which had many steps, all carved and inlaid with ivory, and of such costly and curious workmanship, that the viceroy had ordered it to be guarded very carefully, in order to convey it to the king Dom Sebastiaõ for the day when he should take the sceptre[1], it being an imperial seat, and of much majesty, and as such he commended it much to Dom Antonio de Noronha, who strove all he could to carry it away entire; but it was not possible, on account of its being a very large structure. So, in order to bring away some part of it as a specimen of its grandeur, he ordered the top to be taken off (which was the most costly part), and intrusted it to persons of confidence to carry.

These things having been divided amongst the servants, Dom Antonio de Noronha began to march in this order:—Fernaõ de Sousa de Castellobranco in the vanguard with his

[1] Dom Sebastião was at this time only six years of age, as stated above (p. 180, note [3]).

company, and Dom Antonio de Noronha in the rearguard, and in the middle the baggage and the sick, and further back Joaõ Fernandez Correa, captain of Negapataõ, who had with him Ayres Falcaõ, and on the outside the chief justice Henrique Jaques with a number of slaves to aid those that got tired. Thus they went marching, and the enemy behind yapping and discharging many fire-bombs and musket shots, and great flights of arrows, our people not slacking their pace, although some soldiers wanted to get at them.

And having crossed a beautiful meadow, through which the enemy continued to pursue them, at the end of it, where some embankments were being made, thirty or forty soldiers remained on the other side hidden by them; and as the enemy saw the companies pass on in the order that they observed, they went after them, not fearing the embankments; and on arriving at these and beginning to pass them, the liers in ambush rushed out upon them so suddenly that without their being able to turn they killed more than fifty of them; and Ayres Falcaõ, who went behind almost limping, on seeing our people remaining, hastening to the fray attacked them, and succeeded in putting them to the rout, and thenceforth they appeared no more. The viceroy received Dom Antonio de Noronho and all the rest very warmly, and forthwith set about to embark, ordering to be put on the prince of Jafanapataõ, who was a hostage, certain handsome fetters lined with crimson velvet, in order to hold him more securely, and gave him in custody of the captain of a vessel.

Dec.. VII., Bk. ix., Chap. v.

...... *of how the viceroy Dom Constantino erected a fortress in the island of Manar, and left for Cochim.*

The viceroy being just about to embark, being no longer able to do anything there, the country being disturbed, they saw from the land two very fine ships coming with all their sails set, one in front of the other, and then they saw them both at once strike sail and anchor, without knowing what ships they were. And before we treat of these ships (which were from the kingdom) we shall give an account of the armada that the king sent to India this year of 1560, and of the things for which he ordered provision to be made[1]. ......

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[1] The fleet took out the first archbishop of Goa and the first inquisitors for India (see *infra*, p. 212, note [3], p. 213, note [1]).

The two ships *Castello* and *Drago* likewise experienced much trouble, and not till the end of November did they come in sight of the land on the inner side of Cape Comorim; and as it appeared to the pilot to be that of Panane towards Cochim, he went steering southwards in sight of land, the galleon *Drago* going in advance sounding; and as he was already almost on the shoals of Manar, she ran into five fathoms, whereupon she at once struck her sails, and anchored almost at the edge of the shoal; and the ship *Castello*, which was following, seeing that the *Drago* had lowered her yards, did the same with the same haste, and cast anchor, and miraculously escaped grounding on the shoals. These were the ships that our people saw from the land; and the viceroy Dom Constantino dispatched in great haste some light vessels, which towed them out; and setting sail they went to Cochim[1], it being already December, and the *veador da fazenda* Belchior Serraõ at once took in hand their repair and the cargo that they had to take.

And because the captain-major Dom Jorge de Sousa carried much goods, and the time was very short, he resolved to remain in India with his ship[2], and went to Goa in it, after the arrival of the viceroy at Cochim; who after he had no more to do in Jafanapataõ crossed over to the island of Manar, which was near to that coast, where he disembarked, and observed its situation; and he resolved with the fidalgos of his council to erect a fortress there[3], and to transfer to it the captain of the Fishery Coast with all the inhabitants of Punicale. And he immediately ordered the work to be taken in hand, and sent word to Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho, captain of the Fishery Coast, to come with all the inhabitants of Punicale, so that that *naique* should offer them no more insults, besides those that we described a little

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[1] It is not easy to reconcile Couto's account of the movements of these two vessels with the statement of Dimas Bosque quoted above (p. 196, note [1]) that the ships arrived at the island of Maṉṉár and stayed there at least forty days, while their sick were being cured. We can only suppose that when the viceroy and those with him saw the ships they were on their way from Maṉṉár to Cochin *after* their stay at that island. It is, however, curious that Dimas, one of the two physicians with the expedition, should have been away in Maṉṉár instead of attending to the sick soldiers in Jaffna.

[2] The *Castello*.

[3] Though the Portuguese had probably made calls at Maṉṉár on many occasions ere this, they had as yet no permanent settlement in the island.

ago[1]; and then he ordered the work to be pushed on; and on receiving the message of the viceroy Dom Constantino, Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho, with all the inhabitants of Punicale, crossed over to that place with much satisfaction and joy[2].

And after the viceroy had given regulations for the new fortress[3], in which were left monks of St. Francis and of the Company of Jesus, who established their houses there, and have reaped much fruit for Christianity[4], leaving everything very well settled, he left for Cochim to write to the kingdom, and dispatched Balthesar Guedes de Sousa as captain of the fortress of Columbo, and Ceilaõ, where was Dom Jorge de Meneses Baroche, whom he recalled, and by him he sent to the

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[1] The reference is to VII. VIII. xi., in which Couto relates "how Bisminaique, lord of all the Fishery Coast, came with a great force against the fortress of Punicalle, the captain of which was Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho: and of how he defeated him, and captured that fortress" (which, as Couto explains, was only a mud-wall enclosure). The Portuguese were allowed to go to Tuticorin on promise of a ransom, a Jesuit father being left as hostage. In VI. x. ix. we are told of a previous attack (in 1553) on the "fortress" by a Turk, when the same náyak took advantage to make the Portuguese prisoners, releasing them on ransom. Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho was captain then also. There it is said:—"This town of Ponicale stands on a point of land, which was cut at one part and formed an island (because it was quite surrounded by water)." In the map of Ceylon and the Coromandel coast in D. Lopes's *Hist. dos Port. no Malabar* the place is shown just below Caile (Káyal), about half way between Tuticorin and Manapad. Regarding its situation and history see Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly* (1881) 37, 42, 72.

[2] The inhabitants of Punnaikkáyal were paravars, converts of Xavier and his companions; and the natives of Mannár had also been converted to Romanism by the same means (see C. A. S. Jl. xi. 507). The "satisfaction and joy" do not seem to have endured; for the anonymous author of *Primor e Honra* says (91):—"The viceroy D. Constantino seeing this ordered to build the fortress of Manar, where he ordered to reside the captain of the Fishery, and transferred thither the Christians that they might be secure from the tyrannies, assaults, and robberies of the heathens; but on account of the land's being dry and unhealthy most of them returned to the Fishery Coast and to the same Ponicale, where, as Virapanayaque was a better man than his father Bizaminaique, and as the fathers of the Company had there a house with a superior of that coast and the succour of Manar was near, the place was once more populated by married Portuguese with their wives and children as before."

[3] Faria y Sousa, in connection with the events here recorded, gives a plan of Mannár; but at what date this was drawn, does not appear.

[4] *Cf.* Bald. xliv. (Eng. trans.).

king of Cota his grandmother and other relatives that the king of Jafanapataõ had delivered up to him, and the prince he ordered to be taken to Goa, in charge of Pero Lopez Rebello[1]. And after making provision for everything that was necessary, he set sail for Cochim, where he arrived in a few days; and there we shall leave him for a little, because it is necessary for us to continue with the events that took place during this time in Ceilaõ, in order that we may follow the order of history.

DEC. VII., BK. IX., CHAP. VI.

Of the events that took place at this time in Ceilaõ: and of the war that Dom Jorge Baroche waged against Madune: and of the encounters that they had, and combats that took place: and of some honourable feats that happened therein to some of our people.

The events of this year, being so many, do not allow us to continue with them in order; and those that took place at the beginning of this summer[2] we cannot dispose of in any other place than this, because so they will fall in with us better. Madune did not cease to continue at war with his brother the king of Cota, towards whom he bore a deadly hatred, and sought to deprive him of the kingdom (as we have several times said[3]), in which our people always favoured him of Cota. And now Afonso Pereira de Lacerda, captain of Columbo, was continually in the field to prevent Madune from entering his territories, having many encounters with his captains, in which there was loss on both sides (of which we do not make mention, because they were so frequent, that it would be an endless business to relate them). Suffice it that the encounter with the enemy was always in order that he might not come and lay siege to that city of Cota, in which the king was with some Portuguese, and all by dint of assaults by day and by night, in which our people suffered many hardships: because as the enemy were in their own territories, and had all supplies

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[1] This is the last we hear of the prince in Couto's pages.

[2] By "the beginning of this summer," it is to be presumed, is meant September 1559; but, as I said above (p. 178, note [1]), Couto seems to have omitted some years, or run the events of several together.

[3] So many times, that here Couto repeats the formula almost verbatim, without even altering "brother" to "grand-nephew." (He makes the same error in VII. x. xiv. and xix., pp. 214, 222).

at home, they recruited themselves every time they wished; and if they lost ten men, they reinforced with a hundred in their place, which our people could not do, since their supplies came to them from India by the monsoons and with trouble; and if some were killed or wounded, there were no others to put in their place, but on the contrary, those that remained supplied that want in such manner that they experienced the greatest straits and risks imaginable, ever carrying on the war, lest all should be lost. And in one encounter that Afonso Pereira de Lacerda had before the arrival of Dom Jorge Baroche, he was completely routed, and lost several soldiers[1], wherefore it was necessary for him to send to beg for help from Manar, whence there came to his assistance Jorge de Mello the Fist, captain of that fortress[2], with some soldiers, among whom were Joaõ d'Abreu the Devil, and three brothers, Diogo, Andre, and Christavaõ Juzarte[3], sons of Joaõ Juzarte Tiçaõ, and Dom Manuel de Crasto, Gaspar Pereira the Long[4], who was afterwards appointed to the captaincy of Chaul, which he did not care to accept, Fernaõ Perez Dandrade, and other fidalgos and knights, who distinguished themselves greatly in this war, and did things worthy of eternal remembrance.

Things were in this state when in October past[5] there arrived at that island Dom Jorge Baroche, whom the viceroy Dom Constantino had appointed to that captaincy, as has been mentioned above[6], who brought many supplies, munitions and provisions, and nearly two hundred soldiers, among whom were also many fidalgos and knights, whose names we cannot learn. And having taken command of the fortress of Columbo, he immediately proceeded with all the troops he

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[1] The *Rájávaliya* (86) records the invasion and subjection of the Mátara district (in 1558?) by Manampéri mudaliyár with a Siṇhalese and Portuguese army, which, however, was subsequently totally defeated with great loss at Denépiṭiya by Máyádunné's forces under the command of Vikramasiṇha mudali, Manampéri and many others being killed. The version in Valentyn (*Ceylon* 81–2) has it that they were taken prisoners to Sítávaka.

[2] There seems to be a double error here. In the first place, there was no fortress at Maṉṉár before December 1560 (see p. 202, note [3]); and in the second place, this Jorge de Mello was not captain of that fortress until some years later (see *infra*, VII. x. xv., p. 219, note [2], and VIII. iii., p. 233).

[3] The first of these we have met with before, in VII. III. v. (p. 177).

[4] We shall meet with this man again, in VII. x. xv. (p. 219).

[5] This must mean October 1559.

[6] See p. 179.

had to Cota, where was the king, with whom he discussed the matters of the war. And learning that Madune was in the *tranqueira* of Mapitigaõ[1] on the Calane river, he proceeded, with all his forces and those of the king, to station himself on the opposite bank, and continued the war, making assaults on the enemy, in which he caused them much loss, and not without some on our side, because there were also some wounded.

Thus this war continued, being so troublesome, dangerous, and toilsome, and above all Dom Jorge so indefatigable and so impatient with the soldiers, that they began to desert him a few at a time and return to Cota. This fidalgo was a very good knight, as we have several times said, but so hasty and choleric, that he was held by all as very ill to brook; and besides this he was so vain, that he highly commended some soldiers who addressed him as "your lordship," and said that the courtesy looked very well. In connection with this there is told a good story of a soldier named Antonio Nicolas, a good horseman, who happened to be in his time in these Ceilaõ wars: the viceroy Dom Constantino being in Cochim this summer that is coming in due time, after the return from Jafanapataõ (of which we shall presently give an account further on[2]), this Antonio Nicolas went to his galley to ask some favour of him, and it happened to be at the time that Dom Jorge Baroche was with him; and the soldier in talking to the viceroy on various matters, addressed him always as "*merce*"[3]; and referring to Dom Jorge as a witness to his services, he said to the viceroy: "Here is his lordship," pointing to Dom Jorge, "who knows this very well, and saw me fight": which highly amused the viceroy, because he already knew about his acts of vanity and his nature. During the war he uttered many very witty quips, some of which we have related in the Sixth Decade[4], and we must now not omit one that was very neat; it was as follows:—When he was sailing as captain of a galley, going after certain *paraos*, it being the breakfast hour, a soldier asked the steward for an onion; and Dom Jorge hearing him replied with much anger: "What is this, soldier? Do you ask for luxuries on my galley? There

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[1] Mápiṭigama, on the right bank of the Kẹlani river, south-east of Malvána (*cf. supra*, p. 99, note [4]).

[2] That is, of the events of the "summer" in which the return from Jaffna took place. The incident here recorded occurred probably in February 1561.

[3] *Vossa mercê* is the ordinary polite term in Portuguese addressed to persons of all classes.

[4] See VI. v. vi. and vii.

is nothing in it but powder and shot"[1]. But with all this, this fidalgo was one of the best captains and knights, and a servant of the king, that went out to India.

But to resume the thread of our history. Dom Jorge Baroche, seeing that the soldiers were deserting him little by little, left Jorge de Mello the Fist in his place, and went to Cota to make the men return; and whilst he was detained there Jorge de Mello thought he would make an assault on the enemy; and getting ready, he set out one morning in perfect silence, and fell upon the entrenchments of Raju, the bastard son of Madune, and by force of arms entered them and caused great havoc among the enemy, killing the chief *modiliares* that were there, and capturing many arms and other spoils, with which he retired quite safely. This news reached Dom Jorge Baroche; and filled with envy at such a victory, he mustered all the soldiers he could, and set out in great haste for the camp; and finding the soldiers in good spirits, and flushed with their success, he at once crossed over to the other side of the river in the foists, and at daybreak next day attacked the *tranqueiras*, which Rajú had already restored very well[2]; and with that frenzy and desire that possessed him to gain some honour he speedily effected an entrance to them, and with the sword caused such destruction among the enemy, that in a brief space he killed more than two hundred of them, among whom were the chief *modiliares* and *araches*, and laid the whole of the *tranqueira* level with the ground, and destroyed it. And with such a good success, which cost him no more than a few wounded, Dom Jorge Baroche returned so elated and vainglorious, that he forthwith determined to attack the *tranqueira* of Mapitigaõ, in which was the whole force of Madune, before the blood dried on the swords of his soldiers, because he was informed that the enemy were much dispirited and terrified by those two blows; since it was recognized that if he gained that *tranqueira* and fortified himself therein, he would become master of the roads to Ceitavaca, in which Madune resided, and by only being therein he would hold him besieged, and would be able to wage against him all the war he chose to. For this purpose he ordered to be made two wooden castles on the top of some boats that ply those rivers, which are called *padàs*[3], and in them placed some soldiers with many

[1] Whiteway (301 *n.*) tells this story, but puts rather more vigorous language into Dom Jorge's mouth.

[2] One of the three destroyed by D. Jorge de Castro in 1550 (see *supra*, VI. VIII. vii., pp. 137–8): which one this was, does not appear.

[3] Pada-boats (Siṇh. *pádawal*) seem to be confused with lighters (Siṇh. *paḍaw*). We shall meet with them again in X. VIII. xii. (p. 282).

pots of powder, fire-bombs, and other contrivances and materials, to go by the river and invest the *tranqueira*, and he with all the army crossed over from the other side, leaving orders for the foists to tow the castles until they were alongside of the *tranqueira*. And the signal having been given at the hour of attack, the foists began to row up the river with the castles; and when they were already near the *tranqueira*, they fired upon them with a *camello*[1], which struck the foist that was in front in the prow, and the ball went tearing its way through the middle of it as far as the poop, killing more than twenty sailors whom it took in line who were hauling at certain *roqueiras*[2], and knocked them all to pieces. Upon this the vessels stopped, and Dom Jorge ordered to signal to them to turn about, which he also did, because he knew that all that were in the castles were certain to have been terrified by that mishap[3].

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[1] A kind of cannon.

[2] Petereros or stone-guns.

[3] The events recorded in this chapter and the next are described differently and with some detail in the *Rájávaliya* (86–8), but the Siṇhalese chronicler has reversed the order of the engagements. He begins with the curious statement (86) that "king Máyádunné died after he had reigned 70 [!] years," and continues:—"On hearing of king Máyádunné's death, king Dharmapála came out with the army of Kóṭṭé and the Portuguese force, and halted at the place called Máédaṇḍa. The next day they marched to the village Wéragoḍa and halted there." Valentyn (who, as I have said before, had a much correcter version of the *Rájávaliya*) says (*Ceylon* 82):—"Hereupon the Portuguese sent a famous captain, who encamped at the small pass of Naclagam [Pass Nákolagama adjoins Wéragoḍa], and from there slowly pushed onwards, conquering all that opposed him. This happened at a time when the king of Majadune, now grown very old, had already given over the kingdom of Sita-vaca to his son Raja Singa, and had placed him on the throne of Majadune." As a fact, we find from both the Portuguese and the Siṇhalese histories that Máyádunné now falls into the background, Rája Siṇha exercising authority and leading the troops. (*Cf.* the statement of Cesare Federici quoted *infra*, p. 242, note [4].) I shall return to the subject of Máyádunné's death when dealing with X. VII. xiii. (see p. 272, note [2]). The affair described in the concluding part of the above chapter is evidently the same as that recorded on p. 88 of the *Rájávaliya*, where the employment of boats is mentioned (see the original), though the object for their use is stated differently. The incident of the firing of the gun (or two guns) at the foist (called a *kattala*) and the killing of several sailors (*kalásis*—see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Classy") is also related. According to this account, the result was far worse for the Portuguese than Couto states. Valentyn does not record this affair.

Dec. VII., Bk. ix., Chap. vii.

Of another assault that Dom Jorge made on the enemy, in which he was totally defeated: and of some honourable feats that happened therein to some of our people.

Dom Jorge remained there some days waiting for a favourable opportunity, until he was notified that Raju was in a meadow near the *tranqueira*[1] with three or four thousand men. And desiring to meet him in battle, he ordered his men to get ready one day in the daybreak watch, and an hour before dawn he fell of a sudden upon his encampments, and in such wise were they attacked by our people, that before they were aware of them more then a hundred felt the edge of their swords and were left lying there, and the rest at this surprise vacated the encampments; and Raju with as many as he could collect went retreating across the meadow, with Dom Jorge Baroche following in pursuit, in which our harquebusery knocked over another quantity of them, until they had driven them out of the meadow and penned them inside a hollow, where they made themselves secure. Dom Jorge Baroche arrived there, and seeing the place in which Raju thought to fortify himself determined to take it and so complete the victory. But there came to him a soldier named Pero Jorge, and said to him that he should be content with the favour that God had shown him, and should retire, because already ammunition was wanting, and there was nothing with which to load the firelocks, and that he did not wish that there should befall them a disaster. But Dom Jorge Baroche, being puffed up with that victory, answered him very angrily that they might load the firelocks with sand, or they might be able to win the victory with the sword; and seeking to attack the pass, he saw that his soldiers had begun to retire (because in truth they had no more powder or bullets); and being unable to do anything else, he followed them, getting them into order, because he saw that they were already in disarray. Raju, who was a sagacious leader, and well versed in engagements, understanding the situation in which our people were, rushed with his troops after them, and attacked them with such force and speed, that he threw them into confusion; and Dom Jorge Baroche, with the fidalgos and knights that followed him, was forced to turn upon the enemy many times, lest they should be entirely cut up. And in this strait he arrived at a pass that lay at the end

[1] Where the respective forces were, it is not easy to tell; but judging by what the *Rájávaliya* says (88), it would seem that they were somewhere in the vicinity of Raggahawatta, wherever that was (see my note in C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 271–2).

of the meadow, which he found impeded with large trees, which the enemy had cut down and thrown across there in order to embarrass them. Here Dom Jorge was detained in giving orders for clearing the road, which could not be done so quickly but that there came up the war elephants that Madune had already sent in aid of his son, and one of them approached Dom Jorge to lift him up in its trunk; but a soldier named Pedralvarez Freire, a native of Lamego, seeing the elephant over Dom Jorge, went at it, with some foot-soldiers that it carried[1], saying to them: "Here, lads;" and raising his harquebus to his face, he discharged it in that of the elephant, and made it turn back with the pain of the wound upon its own people, trampling on some of them, and Dom Jorge had time to escape. Then came other elephants (it was these that put our men to the rout); and one of them attacking the ensign of Dom Jorge's company, he reversed the staff on which he carried the banner, and thrust it into its forehead, where it broke off; but not even thus did he escape; for as it was possessed with that fury, it threw its trunk round him, and in its rage flung him down and tore him in pieces. Another elephant came to another soldier, called Gregoris Botelho, a veteran soldier in India, and born there, who seeing it upon him turned upon it with great courage and thrust a halberd into its forehead with such force, that with the pain of the wound he made it desist, whereby he had time to get to the other side of the embankment.

Here in this passage were killed many of our people, who fought very bravely, first taking a great revenge for the death they had to suffer. And yet this strait in this pass was more bearable and less perilous; but as the enemy were so many, several *araches* with their companies made a *détour*, and went to other passes to block the road to our people: and thus they found themselves surrounded in that passage; whereupon Dom Jorge quite gave himself up for lost; but it pleased God that this was already at the end of the meadow, and to give courage and presence of mind to a soldier, whose name we cannot ascertain, who, seeing the peril in which all our people were, ran to a base that our people had left there, and put fire to it; and the ball was so well directed, that it entered into the midst of the enemy, and killed a few of them: which being seen by the rest, thinking that this was an ambush that had been laid for them there, they halted; whereupon Dom Jorge (who had not lost courage) rallied his men anew, and got time to reach the vessels, which were at hand, in which he embarked, and

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[1] Or "that he had": I am not sure of the meaning.

crossed over to the other side, having had more than sixty killed in that passage of the meadow, among whom were some fidalgos, of whom the only name we remember is that of Joaõ de Mello, son of Tristaõ de Mello. Dom Jorge proceeded to his *tranqueiras*, so mortified at that loss and disaster, that he threw himself on the ground, storming and cursing his luck[1]. Thenceforward he remained in that place, continuing the war and the defence of the passes, so that Rajù might not enter the limits of the kingdom of Cota, having several encounters with the enemy, in which there were aways some wounded on both sides.

Dec VII, Bk. ix., Chap. x.

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...... The viceroy ...... dispatched[2] some captains with troops for Ceilaõ, because there had already come away from there Dom Jorge de Meneses Baroche, who had left that captaincy in charge of Balthesar Guedez de Sousa[3], who continued carrying on the war against Raju, as we shall relate more fully further on[4]. ......

Dec. VII., Bk. ix., Chap. xvii.

Of how the king of Pegu sent to offer a sum of gold to the viceroy Dom Constantino for the ape's tooth that he brought away from Jafanapataõ: and of what the divines resolved regarding this: and of how it was burnt: ......

Martim Afonso de Mello[5] was in the kingdom of Pegu with a ship of his doing a trade when the viceroy Dom Constantino

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[1] There cannot be any doubt, I think, that the engagement described in this chapter by Couto is the one recounted so picturesquely by the writer of the *Rájávaliya* (87–8), which, he says, took place "on the field of Mulleriyáwa." In this account also the elephants are mentioned as playing a prominent part. The loss ascribed to the Portuguese by the Siṃhalese historian is, however, manifestly greatly exaggerated. Valentyn (*Ceylon* 82) records the affair briefly, and adds, that their defeat so embittered the Portuguese against Rája Siṃha, that they "began to devastate all the lands about Colombo and Cotta, and to capture all the ports and villages belonging to Ceitavaca, and to depopulate the seaside villages."

[2] Apparently in February 1561.

[3] See *supra*, p. 203.

[4] See *infra*, VII. x. xiv. (p. 219).

[5] I cannot identify this man.

returned from Jafanapataõ; and that king[1], learning that he had carried off that tooth which all that heathenry held in such reverence, sent to summon Martim Afonso, and begged him that as he was going to India he would get the viceroy to give him that tooth, and he would give him all that he might ask for it. And men who were acquainted with Pegu, and knew the great veneration in which they there held that relic of the devil, asserted that he would give for it three or four hundred thousand cruzados. And by the advice of Martim Afonso he appointed some ambassadors to go in his company to the viceroy about that business, and gave them powers to settle with him whatever he might wish, and he would fulfil all that they agreed to.

Martim Afonso having arrived at Goa this past April[2], the viceroy ordered the ambassadors to be well received and entertained, and afterwards heard them regarding that business on which their king had sent them, and they presented their credentials, begging him on behalf of that king for that tooth; and said that, besides giving him for it all that he might wish, he would remain in perpetual friendship with the state, and would take upon himself the obligation of furnishing the fortress of Malaca with provisions at all times that it had need of them, with many other compliments and promises. The viceroy told them that he would reply to them soon. And on discussing these matters with some old captains and fidalgos, they were all of opinion that he ought to accept such a large offer as that which they had made him, because by this means he would help the state, which was in debt and in want; and so much did they say about this, that they considered him as good as persuaded.

As soon as these things came to the ears of the archbishop Dom Gaspar[3] he at once hurried to the viceroy and told him that that tooth could not be ransomed for all the treasure in the world, because it was contrary to the honour of God our Lord, and would give occasion to those heathen to idolatrize it, and to give to that little bone what was due to God alone. And regarding this he gave him many admonitions, and even preached about it from the pulpit in the presence of the viceroy and the whole court; and as Dom Constantino was a very

[1] Bureng Naung (see Phayre's *History of Burma* 117–8). The Burmese annals appear to be silent on the subject of the mission to Ceylon for the tooth relic.

[2] April 1561.

[3] D. Gaspar de Leão Pereira, first archbishop of Goa, who arrived in India at the end of 1560 (see *supra*, p. 201, note [1], and *cf*. p. 179, note [5]).

devout Catholic, and God-fearing, and obedient to the prelates, he did not care to go forward with that business, or to do anything without a general council. Wherefore he assembled the archbishop, prelates, and divines of the religious orders, captains and old fidalgos, and revenue officers, and before them all explained the case, and the large sum of money that they had promised him for that tooth; and represented the great need in which the state was, which could all be remedied with that ransom. And the matter having been debated amongst all those divines, who had already well studied it, they resolved that that tooth could not be given up, because it would give occasion to great idolatries, and insults to God our Lord; and that that was a sin that could not be committed, even at the risk of the state and the whole world. The principal divines that were present were the archbishop, the inquisitors[1], the father Frei Antonio Pegado, vicar-general of St. Dominick, Frei Manoel da Serra of the same order, prior of Goa, the father deputy provincial of St. Francis and another divine of the same convent, the father Antonio de Coadros[2] of the Company of Jesus, provincial of India, the father Francisco Rodriguez[3] the Cripplekin[4], of the same Company, and others.

This having been agreed to, and a contract having been drawn up, which all signed (a copy of which is in our possession in the Torre do Tombo[5]), the viceroy ordered the treasurer to bring the tooth, and delivered it to the archbishop, who there in the presence of all threw it into a mortar, and with his own hand pounded it and reduced it to fragments, and cast them into a brasier, which he ordered to be brought for that purpose, and commanded the ashes and cinders to be thrown into the midst of the river in the sight of all, who witnessed it from the verandas and windows that looked on to the sea. For this there was much murmuring against the viceroy, some saying, that for the heathen to idolatrize there were not lacking to them other idols, and that of any piece of bone they could make another tooth in memory of that one, which they would hold in the same reverence; and that such a large amount of gold as they would have given him would have been very good for the expenses of the state, which was greatly in need; and

[1] In VII. ix. v. Couto gives their names as Aleixo Dias Falcão and Francisco Marques Botelho.

[2] Regarding him see *Miss. dos Jes.* 132.

[3] See *Miss. dos Jes.* 135.

[4] *O Manquinho.*

[5] At Goa. This document no longer exists (see Gerson da Cunha's *Hist. of the Tooth Relic* 44, note †).

so we were told that in Portugal there was much astonishment at some persons' consenting to that deed. But by an emblem or design, which we shall give here, which they had executed there[1] with reference to this affair (made, as it appears to me, by the fathers of the Company), they approved of what he did, and recorded his great Christianity and zeal for the honour of God; and the emblem was as follows. They made an escutcheon, and on it they painted the viceroy and the archbishop at a council table, and around them all the prelates of the religious houses and the divines that were there present, and in the midst of all a large burning brasier, and some heathens with purses in their hands filled with money, which they were holding out to him, and five letters, like the first of the name of Dom Constantino, like these, and immediately below them these five words:—

C C C C C

Constantinus cœli cupidine cremavit crumenas.

The true signification of which is, setting aside the construction: "Constantino, with aims in heaven, rejected the treasures of earth"[2]. . . . . . .

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DEC. VII., BK. X., CHAP. XIV.

Of the war that Madune ordered to be undertaken against our fortress of Columbo, and that of Cota, in which was the king Peria Pandar: and of the actions that took place.

We have many times spoken of how greatly Madune Pandar desired to capture the kingdom of Cota and seize the king his brother, in order thus with greater safety to become master of the whole island. Wherefore he never desisted from the war, and continually sent his armies, the captain-general

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[1] In Portugal.

[2] The translation is certainly free, and the Latin misstates the fact, since it was the tooth that was cremated, and not the money-bags (*crumenas*). This episode has been referred to by many writers, some praising and others blaming the viceroy (*cf.* Gerson da Cunha, *op. cit.* 45–6). Modern writers have doubted the genuineness of the tooth burnt (see Pyr. ii. 145, note).

of which was his son Raju Pandar, now against Columbo, now against the fortress of Cota, where was the king Peria Pandar[1]. The captain of Columbo was Baltesar Guedez de Sousa[2], who had with him his brother Gonçalo Guedez, both very good captains, with some others that had come from Goa, such as Nuno Pereira de Lacerda, Simaõ de Mello Soarez, Gaspar Goterrez de Vasconcellos, Antonio Chainho de Crasto, Andre d'Afonseca, Antonio d'Afonseca, Diogo Fernandez Pirilhaõ, and others, whom the captain Baltesar Guedez de Sousa had appointed to various posts.

Rajù after having delivered many assaults, now on Cota, now on Columbo, determined to besiege Columbo and endeavour to take it, and so he laid siege to it with more than thirty thousand men around the fortress[3], and attacked it at all parts in great force, many times risking his whole power in order to get the town into his hands; but it was always defended against him very well by our people, with many deaths on each side, and our people many times gave themselves up for lost; and in this siege they did so many things and performed such great deeds of chivalry, that I know not how to particularize them; and the assaults were so many, that it is impossible to make or give a detailed account of them. I shall only say one thing, that of each day of this siege could be

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[1] This is the first occasion on which Couto employs this title, one used by Dharmapála alone, and explained in a document printed in *Col. de Trat.* i. 225 as meaning "emperor." It appears to represent Siṇh. *parabaṇḍára* or Tam. *periya paṇḍár*. (See also *supra*, p. 155, note [1].)

[2] See *supra*, VII. ix. x. (p. 211), where we read of his succeeding D. Jorge de Menezes, in February 1561, apparently.

[3] This seems to have been in 1563. It will be noticed that Couto gives no details of the occurrences of 1561 and 1562. In VII. x. ix. he mentions, among those who accompanied the viceroy (the count de Redondo) in his huge fleet from Goa to Cochin in December 1562, "Dom Theodosio ambassador from Ceilaõ," but he nowhere tells us when this ambassador was sent to Goa, or with what object. This is evidently the person referred to by Garcia da Orta in his forty-second *Coloquio* as having given him information regarding the "snake-wood" in Ceylon. He was named, doubtless, after the duke of Bragança, the elder brother of Dom Constantino, during whose viceroyalty he was probably baptized. The *Rájávaliya* entirely passes over these two years, and says very little regarding the next three, as we shall see further on. Respecting the sieges of Columbo and Cota described by Couto, the Siṇhalese historian is absolutely silent. The *Hist. Seraf.* (iii. 539) recounts briefly these sieges, which, it says, were five in number.

made a history of itself, because the actions at every moment were well worthy of note ; and I should not fail to describe the principal ones, if I knew them in real truth ; but I only knew, in short, that the disgust they gave me was greater than the pleasure and eagerness that I have to describe this affair, which was one of the most memorable and notable in the world's history[1]. In fine Rajù continued to carry on this siege with very great importunity and urgency, until, wearied and disgusted with seeing that things were not turning out as he desired, he retired to Ceitavaca, our people thinking that it was in order not to return to the attack. But as Rajù and his father entered upon this business with hate and envy, he did no more than get fresh supplies of men, munitions, and provisions, and then took the road to Cota in order to conclude that business, which he considered determined and concluded, thinking that our people had suffered so in the past siege, and were so disheartened, that they were not in a condition to be able to go to the help of that king,—in which they deceived themselves : for as soon as Baltesar Guedez de Sousa heard that he was moving on Cota, he set out from Columbo with as many men as he could muster, and threw himself into Cota, leaving his brother Gonçalo Guedez in Columbo with what men seemed necessary to enable him to defend himself against any attack, should such occur.

The city of Cota[2] is of a circular form, and is situated as it were in an island, entirely surrounded by a fair-sized river[3], which can only be crossed by boat. It will be some two thousand paces in circumference, and has no access to the outer world except by a passage like a man's neck, which would be some fifty paces in width. This defile our people had fortified with a vallation of thick walls at each end, and two walls besides that ran across this defile, one outside, and the other nearer in, and this passage was called Prea Cota[4]. There is also over the river a bridge, which they call the pass

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[1] This is a very cryptic statement, and I am unable to explain the cause of Couto's " disgust."

[2] *Cf.* the description in V. I. vi. *supra* (p. 75). Unfortunately no plan of Kóṭṭé as it was in Portuguese—or even in Dutch—times has come down to us : so that it is difficult to locate the places mentioned by Couto in connection with this siege.

[3] *Cf.* the description of the first founding of the city by Alakeṣvara, in C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 285.

[4] Piṭa Kóṭṭé. (The Portuguese frequently represented the cerebral *t* and *d* in Indian and Ceylonese names by an *r*. We shall meet with other instances in Couto.)

of Ambola[1], which goes towards Columbo, which our people make use of, and from Cota to Columbo will be a league and a half. There is another pass, which they call that of the Mosquito[2], and two others[3], in which our people had made their *tranqueiras*, and provided them with everything. The manner in which Gonçalo Guedez and the king provided this and the captains whom they placed in these passes I do not know, nor do I find any records[4]; I only know that in Prea Cota, which was the most dangerous pass, was a captain with forty men, and in all the other passes each had its captain and thirty men. And in Prea Cota were the father Frei Simaõ de Nazarè, Frei Lucas, and three other fathers of St. Francis[5], all monks of great and well-known goodness. The king remained apart with the captain Baltesar Guedez de Sousa to go and help whenever needed.

As soon as Rajù came in sight of Cota he surrounded it with his whole army, which he had greatly increased, and attacked it many times with great determination, chiefly at Prea Cota, with the elephants, which at a place to which he came where the river was shallower went to the attack boldly; but our people wounded them and burnt them with fire-lances, whereby they made them turn round; the bulk of the enemy hastening hither, thinking that the elephants had made an entrance for them, whereupon there ensued a very severe battle of great risk and peril, in which many were killed on both sides, where the king and the captain Baltesar Guedez de Sousa and other knights that accompanied them did such marvels, that they seemed like wild elephants. And the friars were those that did most, because they fought spiritually with prayers, and by persuading the men to defend themselves and to ask pardon of God for their sins, they being ever the first in all the risks and

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[1] In the next chapter this is called "the pass of the *ambolaõ*," which seems to be the correct reading, for in VIII. iii. (p. 226) we are told that the *ambolaõ* (ambalam) was midway between Columbo and Cotta: it was, therefore, probably situated at the spot where the present Kóṭṭé road meets the North and South Base Line and several other roads.

[2] I cannot identify this pass. It is mentioned again in VIII. iii. (p. 224).

[3] The names of all the passes are given in VIII. iii. (p. 224).

[4] Apparently Couto obtained his information regarding this siege from participants in it, as he did in the case of the next and final siege of 1564–5 (see VIII. iii., p. 236).

[5] From a document printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 734, it appears that in this year (1563) Dharmapála dotated the Franciscans in Ceylon with the rents of the pagodas within his dominions.

dangers[1]. In this carnage that day passed, and others following, without their allowing our people to take a moment's rest, because neither by day nor by night did they take their hands from their arms, eating very little, and sleeping less. And the most wonderful thing, on which I should like to spend many quires of paper, is, that the greater part, or almost all, of these people of ours were soldiers from Antre Douro e Minho, from Beira, and from Tras os Montes[2], unknown men, without usurped titles, but brought up poor and rustically, badly clad, and worse laced. But certainly of them it could be said, as was once said of Cæsar, that one should beware of that ill girt youth. So of these our Portuguese, in whom the fault of blood concealed the great valour of the spirit, it could be said: "Beware of those tatterdemallions, and of those rusty swords, for there go other Cæsars." And so you would see one of these set face to face against many foes, and cutting them down with such valour and spirit that it would affright you and cause you the greatest astonishment, and standing up to a wild elephant that would make a whole army fall back, and making it turn round, as if he were another beast wilder and more ferocious than it. And these of whom I speak are those that in India accomplished most of the dangerous feats that were undertaken there; and those that in this island of Ceilaõ maintained this and other sieges, of which many writings could be made, if time or neglect had not buried the names, and with them the deeds.

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[1] The *Historia Serafica* (iii. 539) says:—"In these straits the Franciscan friars were always seen in the greatest perils. On one occasion, the Portuguese having sallied forth to repel the onset of the enemy, over whom they gained the victory, they left dead on the field for the confession of the faith two very earnest monks, Fr. Luis do Amaral speared, and Fr. Martinho da Guarda, the second of the name, who was dragged along after an elephant. The Malavares, who at this time were cruising along the coast in succour of Madune, captured a friar Leygo, who was coming as sacristan of our convent in Columbo, and having carried him to Negumbo accorded him a most cruel death. In another encounter of the Portuguese with the troops of Rajù in the meadows of Calanè, the former beginning to break their ranks by reason of the impetus that pressed upon them, the father Fr. João Calvo took a crucifix in his hands, and on the part of his Lord commanded the elephants to proceed no further with their havoc. A fact to be wondered at! The brutes remained immovable at the impulses of the divine virtue, and the heathens so dumbfoundered at the novelty, that our men had the opportunity of retiring from their fury."

[2] The northernmost parts of Portugal, inhabited by the least warlike of the population.

Dec. VII., Bk. x., Chap. xv.

Of the great strait to which Rajû brought our people, and of how Diogo de Mello, captain of Manar, came to the rescue: and of other reliefs that joined them.

Thus Rajù continued to carry on the siege with greater forces and with more bloodthirstiness each day, seeking by every means to enter the city, both by water with boats and *jangádas*[1] and by Prea Cota. And many times our people gave themselves up for lost; but God our Lord, whose eyes were upon them and upon that island, gave courage to our people, so that they always drove the enemy back with great destruction to them, and with no little loss on our side. The king with some of his men was always to be found in the most dangerous places, like one who had most at stake on the issue, since his kingdom was at stake. The enemy captured another road to the pass of the *ambolaõ*, by which there came to them from Cota some provisions and messages, and thus only with difficulty and great risk could our people send messages to one another. The news of this siege, and of our people's being in great peril, reached Manar at the beginning of August [1563], on hearing which, Diogo de Mello Coutinho, captain of that fortress[2], immediately hired some vessels, in which he set out to their help, himself in one, and in the others Pero Luzarte Tiçaõ and Gaspar Pereira the Long[3], who was afterwards appointed to the fortress of Chaul, but did not wish to go to assume that command.

These vessels having set out full of men, munitions, and provisions, as it was not the season for getting to Columbo by going along the coast, they went to the opposite coast of Tutocori, in order from there to cross over with the wind, which was then a monsoon one. Meanwhile Rajù kept on pressing the siege closer, because he saw that the winter was drawing to a close, and that soon many reliefs could come; and so he determined to get possession of Cota, and with that

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[1] Rafts (see *supra*, p. 75, note [3]).

[2] There seems to be an error here. In VII. ix. vi. we were told that in 1559 (?) the captain of Manar was *Jorge* de Mello the Fist (*o Punho*), and in VIII. iii. we read of his still occupying that post in 1565. On the other hand, in VII. ix. v. we were informed that, by command of the viceroy, *Manoel Rodrigues* Coutinho went from the Fishery Coast to Manar in 1561, apparently to take command of the newly-built fortress of Manar. (*Cf.* p. 205, note [2].) Of Diogo de Mello Coutinho we have read in connection with Ceylon in VI. ix. xvi. and xix. and VI x. vii., and we shall hear of him as captain of Columbo in VIII. xxxii.

[3] See *supra*, p. 205.

object attacked it at all the passes with great fury, finding in our people the usual resistance. Those of our people that could fight would be about four hundred, who seemed to be made not of flesh but of brass, because neither did the bombard shots frighten or affect them, nor did the elephants make them move from their posts. Thus Rajù continued, until one day he put his whole strength into the combat, and placed the largest body of it at Prea Cota, which was attacked by the troops of the *atapata*[1], who are those of the king's guard, picked and brave soldiers (like the Janissaries) ; and before the guard went the war elephants, who with their customary trumpetings placed their foreheads against the *tranqueiras*, to the help of which hastened the king, and the captain with the messengers that accompanied him, and in front of all the venerable father Frei Simaõ de Nazaret, with five or six friars, who were always foremost in the greatest fury of battle, encouraging the men, and holding aloft to them Christ crucified, in whose name and faith they all fought, calling many times on the name of Jesus, who always succoured them with his help, increasing their courage and strength : for if this were not so, all would be lost. At last, such force did they cause the elephants to exert, that they burst through the first wall of Prea Cota, where our people continued to fight with much valour ; and so with that onrush Prea Cota was entered, and three brothers of St. Francis and more than twenty Portuguese were killed. The king and the captain, seeing this position invaded and their cause apparently lost, hastened to the rescue with all the rest of the troops that they had, sending in advance some men with fire-lances and the musketry ; and shouting "Saõ Tiago ! " ; and the father Frei Simaõ de Nazaret in front, calling on Christ to succour and aid them, it pleased this Lord for his great mercy (as he is accustomed to do in similar needs) to succour them in such fashion, that they drove out the elephants much burnt, and did the like to the enemy, more than four hundred of whom were killed and scorched in that action. Finally the havoc was such, that Rajù on his side had to retire as good as routed, he having thought that with that action he would finish the business. The captain Baltesar Guedez de Sousa, who that day played the part of the brave soldier, was wounded with two wounds,

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[1] In X. IX. v. (p. 301) the word is more correctly spelt *atapato*, and is explained as "captain of the guards" (of the king). Bocarro (cap. xci.) has *atapata* (feminine collective noun), and explains it as Couto does here ; while Ribeiro (II. i.) has *atapáta* as a masculine noun, and explains it as "captain of the bodyguard" (of the king). The word *atapattuwa* has now come to mean the staff of peons or messengers under a disáva.

but they did not cause him to leave the conflict, rather he showed therein all the more the purity of his blood; and likewise did the fidalgos and distinguished knights, whose names I have not discovered to glorify them as they deserve.

The king and the captain without taking any rest rebuilt and fortified Prea Cota on the inner side very strongly, and wished to send a message to India, to let the viceroy know the state in which that fortress was, that he might succour it, which he[1] considered doubtful because all the roads were occupied, and it was not possible to go by them. But a friar of St. Francis, who saw that need and the risk and peril in which all were, talking to a *pacha*[2], who knew those jungles very well, gave him an account of his determination, which was to get to Columbo through the jungles, and said that with all the risk to his person he would have him very well paid: the *pacha* offered his services to bring him to Columbo in perfect safety. And the father giving the captain and the king an account of the plan, they thanked him much for that service that he wished to render to God and also to that people; and intrusting him to the *pacha*, whom they paid well, in the third watch of the night they went out by the pass of the *ambolaõ*, and hid themselves in some new and different jungles, through which they journeyed with much trouble and danger. And it pleased our Lord, who always favours such deeds, that in two hours they reached Columbo, which the father entered, and gave an account of the past trouble and of the peril in which all were, giving the letters to the *alcaide mór*, in which he ordered him immediately to give a vessel to go over to Tutocori, which they soon got for him, it being a small *tone*, in which he embarked, and went across to Tutocori; and reaching land, he saw the armada of Diogo de Mello Coutinho, which had arrived the day before, and there was now with him Antonio da Costa Travassos, who had come from Cochim as captain-major of six rowing vessels with many and good troops, and there they added also some seven or eight vessels of provisions. And learning the great need in which Cota was, they at once set sail for Columbo as the weather was good; and next day they entered that bay with that great succour, of which the news quickly reached Rajù. As soon as our people landed, they arranged to go to the relief of Cota, and mustered more than four hundred men, whom they put in order to set out. But as soon as Rajù heard of it he broke up his army, and retired to Ceitavaca, taking back more than two thousand men less

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[1] The captain, apparently.

[2] See *supra*, p. 106, note [2].

than he had brought, whom he had lost in that expedition. And with this our people were disburdened, and fortified themselves anew, and provided Cota with food and men; and Diogo de Mello, when he saw that he was not needed there, returned in his foist by himself to Manar, leaving in Columbo all the rest of the succour that had gone with him.

DEC. VII., BK. x., CHAP. xix.

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As the summer[1] was drawing to a close, the governor Joaõ de Mendoça began hurrying on the dispatching of the captains that had to go out, who were ...... and also Pero de Taide Inferno[2] to the captaincy of Ceilaõ, and gave him some vessels, men, and munitions, because Madune continued to carry on war against his brother the king of Cota[3].

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[1] The hot season of 1563–4.

[2] Previously captain of São Thomé. I do not know how he came to have such an unpleasant nickname.

[3] This statement is doubly inaccurate: the king of Kóṭṭé was Máyádunné's grand-nephew, not his *brother* (see *supra*, p. 204, note [3]), and Máyádunné was not at this time carrying on war, but preparing for another campaign (see *infra*, p. 224, note [2]).

COUTO.

DECADE VIII. (Summary.)

1564–1571 A.D.

Portuguese Governors of India.—D. Antão de Noronha, viceroy, September 1564 to September 1568; D. Luis de Ataide, viceroy, September 1568 to September 1571.

Siṇhalese Rulers in Ceylon.—Dharmapála *alias* Dom João Perea Pandar, 1551–97 (Kóṭṭé and Columbo); Máyádunné, 1534–81(?), (Sítávaka); ———, *alias* Dom João, 155?–6? (Kandy).

Tamil King in Jaffna.—Saṅgili.

Portuguese Captains-Major of Ceylon.—Pedro de Ataide Inferno, 1564–5; Diogo de Mello, 1565–8; [D. Fernando de Monroy, 1568–70?]; Diogo de Mello Coutinho, 1570–2.

The principal events recorded in this summary are the great (and final) siege of Cotta by Máyádunné's army under Rája Siṇha in 1564–5, its relief, and subsequent abandonment by the Portuguese, Dharmapála and his "court" removing to Columbo, where the puppet king was fated to live for the next thirty-two years. The only other important matters chronicled by Couto are the two embassies from the king of Pegu (in 1565 and 1566) to Dharmapála, the first to obtain in marriage a fictitious daughter of the latter's, and the second to purchase from this "Christian" king the genuine (?) tooth-relic. The pompous receptions accorded to these two in Pegu are narrated with much circumstance on the authority of an eye-witness.

DEC. VIII., CHAP. iii.

In which the great siege of Cotta is continued.

The tyrant Rajú did not rest from the idea of making an end of Cotta, or of Columbo: for whichever of them he captured, the other would soon be given up to him, and he

would get the king Dom Joaõ[1] into his hands, so as to become master of the whole of that island; and thus setting his wits to work and laying his plans, he determined to do by wiles what he could not by force: and with this object he collected a large army with much artillery and munitions, and spread the report that he was going to attack Cotta, in order, if our people in Columbo were put off their guard, to take it unawares, and get possession of it; and so with that design he appeared before Cotta on the 5th of October[2], and encamped with his whole army in the same place that he occupied on the other occasion, that Columbo might be nearer to him. At the time that he appeared before that fortress Pedro de Atayde[3] was in it, having come there to see the king, leaving in his stead as captain of Columbo Dom Diogo de Atayde. Pedro de Atayde seeing the enemy and finding himself unprepared, and without enough provisions for the siege that he expected, prepared in the best way he could to receive him, and fortified himself wherever it seemed necessary, and dispatched a message through the jungle to Dom Diogo de Atayde to provide him with victuals whenever he could, because they would be sure to need them; and calling a muster of the troops that he had, he found three hundred soldiers including old men and invalids, and none of the king's troops, they having all deserted to the enemy through knavery that Rajú had practised for this purpose; and he divided the posts of greatest danger amongst the fidalgos and captains that were there, after the following manner[4]:—Gaspar Pereira de Lacerda at the entrance to Cotta with thirty men; Antonio Cardoso Suyero in a pass in front of an islet that the river formed there, called the Islet of Challenges because to it the soldiers challenged one another; Manoel Lourenço in a pass that they called the Pass of Mosquitos; Joaõ de Mello de Atayde in the Pass of Andre Fernandez; Ayres Ferreira, nephew of Pedro Ferreira de Saõpayo, in the Pass of the *Pachás*; Henrique Muniz Barretto at the wall of Prea[5]

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[1] This is the first occasion on which Couto refers to Dharmapála by his baptismal name. (*Cf. supra*, p. 172, note [4], p. 215, note [1].)

[2] 1564, as we find from the date given further on. As the relief of Cotta mentioned at the end of VII. x. xv. *supra* (pp. 221–2) took place apparently in August 1563, Rája Siṇha seems to have given the Portuguese a year's respite while he was maturing his new plans.

[3] See *supra*, VII. x. xix. (p. 222).

[4] *Cf. supra*, VII. x. xiv. (p. 217).

[5] The printed editions have, by a misreading, *primeira* (first), the blunder being repeated throughout the chapter.

Cotta, where was stationed as captain Francisco Gomez Leytaõ[1]; Joaõ Correa de Britto[2] in the Pass of the *Mainotos*[3]. With the captain remained some fidalgos and knights to go with him and the king to help wherever most needed: these were one Dom Francisco de Noronha, of whom they could tell me nothing more; Rodrigo Furtádo, brother of the governor Andre Furtádo[4]; a certain de Atayde Lerma; Francisco de Macedo, who still lives today[5] in Cochim, a friar of the third order of St. Francis, a highly respected man, who in this siege performed great deeds of valour; and Gaspar[6] Gonçalvez, master captain of the *inhames*[7], very well known; and others regarding whom I have no information.

Rajú continued carrying on the siege with all his strength, and preventing any provisions from reaching our people, who were already in great want. Rajú's field-marshal, who in their language was called Bicarnasinga[8], on several occasions when Dom Diogo de Atayde sent provisions to Cotta always attacked his soldiers, who defeated him, at which he was so annoyed, that he sent to challenge Dom Diogo to meet him at the *ambolam*[9], which is half-way on the road from Columbo

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[1] In X. vii. xiv. (p. 276) we shall meet with this man again, in connection with Rája Siṇha's final siege of Columbo in 1587–8. (See also p. 256.)

[2] Afterwards captain of Columbo, 1583–90 (see *infra*, p. 261).

[3] Washermen (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*, and *infra*, p. 331). The manuscript has, incorrectly, *moinatas*.

[4] André Furtado de Mendoça (see *infra*, p. 393), who governed India for only three months and eight days, May–September 1609.

[5] That is, in 1615, when Couto wrote this summary of his Eighth Decade. In XII. i. xiv. (p. 427) he mentions this man as taking part in the war in Ceylon in 1597–8. When he exchanged the soldier's casque for the friar's cowl I do not know. He it was, Couto tells us further on (p. 236), that furnished him with an account of this siege.

[6] Further on (p. 237) he is called *Estevão*. I cannot say which name is right.

[7] I cannot explain this. The only meaning that the dictionaries give for *inhame* is "yam" (which is derived from the Portuguese word): but that is clearly out of place here. I suspect some error. Perhaps it is an attempt to represent Siṇh. *yamánnu*, which Clough's Dictionary explains as "iron manufacturers in the days of Kandyan kings;" or *inama*, "a general name for any low caste," may be meant.

[8] In the manuscript "Bicár Narsinga." This is Vikramasiṇha mudali, so often mentioned in the *Rájávaliya* 82 ff. We shall meet with him again in X. vii. xiii. (p. 273). The Portuguese seem to have mistaken the name for a title, for Bocarro (cap. cxiv.) speaks of Antonio Barreto's having become "*bicanasinga*, which is captain-general of the king of Candia."

[9] See *supra*, p. 217, note [1].

to Cotta: which Dom Diogo accepted, and appointed the time for three days thence, of which he sent to inform Pedro de Atayde Inferno, who on the day fixed sallied forth from Cotta with one hundred and fifty men, and sent two *pachás*, men of the jungle, to discover the enemy and ascertain what force they had, and return and inform him; and if they did not find the Bicanarsinga, to go on to Columbo, and tell Dom Diogo de Atayde to hasten with what provisions he could bring, as he was waiting for him on the *Outerinho das Pedras*[1], half a league from Cotta. These *pachás* proceeded to Columbo, and told Dom Diogo that the Bicanarsinga had not appeared, nor were there any troops on the road. On this news there set off from Columbo without the captain's orders a *casado*[2] captain of twenty men, who was called Joaõ Rodrigues Piercedfoot[3], and took with him an *arache* named Francisco de Almeyda with twenty-five *lascarins*, who carried some provisions to leave in Cotta; and having marched as far forward as a tree that they call *carcapuleira*[4], they encountered the whole army of Rajú, who was waiting for Dom Diogo, and they fell upon him, and surrounded him, and killed Pierced-foot with ten Portuguese, and the *arache* and *lascarins*, and took from them their regimentals: wherefore Dom Diogo and Pedro de Atayde always suspected that the *pachás* had been bribed by Rajú.

Pedro de Atayde received information where he was of what had taken place, wherefore he returned to Cotta as it were by force, since the captains that accompanied him made him return, because he himself wished to go and attack Rajú. Things being in this state, as Rajú had his eyes on Columbo, a week after this had occurred he one night broke up his camp as noiselessly as he could, and set out marching on Columbo, thinking that he would take it unawares, of which Pedro de Atayde was soon advised, and in great haste he dispatched

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[1] Literally "the Hillock of the Stones." (The manuscript has *outeirinhos.*) From the distance given, it is evident that some eminence at Bore̤lla or We̤likaḍa is meant.

[2] See *supra*, p. 186, note [1].

[3] *Pé furádo*, literally "bored foot." He had probably in some fight received a shot or thrust through one of his feet.

[4] This is a hybrid word, *-eira* being the common Portuguese termination in names of trees, while *carcapuli* represents Tamil *korukkai-puḷi*, the goraka, *Garcinia Cambogia* (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Corcopali"). This goraka tree was evidently a conspicuous one; but where it stood, it is impossible to say. The manuscript has, erroneously, *sarsapuleira*, the copyist having in his mind, apparently, the word *sarçaparilha*.

Nuno Fernandez de Atayde[1] and Pedro Luzarte, with forty soldiers, to go by unfrequented paths and get into Columbo Rajú reached that fortress without being discovered, and at once invested it, and assailed it all round with many ladders, which he had brought for that purpose, more than two thousand Moors[2] climbing to the top of the *enceinte*; but Dom Diogo de Atayde, who was not off his guard, hastened to the defence with Dom Martinho de Castelbranco and other fidalgos and knights; and falling upon the enemy, they killed many, and others were hurled down from the walls; but Rajú hastened thither, and made them attack again with great determination, putting all his strength into it, going about himself in person and bringing up his men, who strove with all valour all they could to regain the walls, which our people defended with increased bravery; and such doughty deeds did they perform, that they obliged Rajú to retire, as he saw that day was breaking, leaving around the walls more than five hundred Moors dead, besides a large number of wounded whom he carried away with him. Our people that were coming from Cotta in succour reached that fortress at the time that Rajú was already retiring, and entered into it.

The enemy, finding himself met with such opposition, and obliged to withdraw from those walls with so much loss and humiliation, became as if mad, and resolved to prosecute that war by another and more rigorous method, which was, to kill our people with hunger: and to this end he returned towards Cotta, and beset the whole road from sea to sea, from Mapano[3] as far as Matuál, whereby our people were rendered disheartened of succour, nor could Nuno Fernandez de Atayde with the others return from Columbo[4]. Rajú went about like a madman, inventing and seeking means by which he could finish that business; and having many times held council, it was therein resolved that though it might be with excessive trouble, the most efficacious means to attain his end was to divert the river that enclosed the city at various parts[5], in order that, the

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[1] Afterwards captain of Manar and later of Columbo (see *infra*, pp. 305, note [5], 441).

[2] The printed version omits "Moors" here and in every other place where the word occurs in this chapter. (See *infra*, p. 232, note [1].)

[3] See *supra*, p. 171, note [5].

[4] The *Rájávaliya*, which is, as I have said, strangely defective regarding this period, says (89):—"Rája Siṇha cut off communication with the districts belonging to Kóṭṭé and Colombo, and stopped traffic by preventing man and beast from going out or coming in."

[5] *Cf.* p. 216, *supra*.

passage being open to him, he might be able to enter it dryshod: and to this end he ordered to collect a large number of pioneers, whom he set to make a beginning with the work, a thing that completed the hopelessness of our people. The soldiers that were on that side, thirty in number, hearing the noise of the work, fell upon the enemy, and killed a large number of the pioneers, and captured from them a boat called a *catapanel*[1]; and Pedro de Atayde Inferno hastening to the help ordered to be placed in it fifty firelock soldiers, with whom embarked the father Frey Simaõ de Nasaret, a monk of St. Francis, to animate and console them, who came to the place where the enemy had begun to work and dig a trench, and with their firelocks killed a large number of Moors, and filled in that part again.

Here occurred a most evident miracle, and this was, that while our people were engaged in this work there enveloped them a mist so dense, that it entirely hid them from the enemy, the latter remaining so plainly visible to our people, that these made the greatest havoc among them, killing with firelock shots three hundred of them, who were straightway left there, besides many that retired wounded. This lasted until midday, when the filling in of that place was finished, and our people retired without having received any loss, not even a slight wound. This cost Rajú so dear, that never more did he care to prosecute that business[2], and remained thus in that position, preventing the passage of provisions to our people, who being in entire lack of them, the captain ordered two of the king's elephants to be killed[3], with which they kept off hunger for some days, and they did the same with a horse, and after this our people fell upon the dogs and cats of the city, and there escaped them not a single one, nor even other unclean vermin of the country, so that they consumed everything.

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[1] The manuscript has *catapanol.* Baldæus (*Ceylon* xxii.) has *katapanelen* (plur.), which a marginal note explains as "open boats" (the English translator substitutes "ferry-boats"). On p. 308 *infra* we have the plural form *catapunes*, which shows that the word is Tamil *kaṭṭu-puṇai* = tied-boat, and that *catapanel* (better *catapunel*) is an artificial singular formed from the plural on the model of Portuguese nouns.

[2] He might have renewed the attempt, however, had not the Portuguese abandoned Cotta the following year. We shall find him using the most elaborate means for draining the Columbo lake during the siege of 1587–8 (see *infra*, pp. 299–300).

[3] During the siege of Columbo by the Dutch in 1655–6, Ribeiro tells us, of fifteen elephants that were in the city at the time all but one were eaten (see C. A. S. Jl. xii. 94).

Those of our people that were in the bastion of the land pass, seeing themselves in extreme need, sent some servants into the jungle to cut wood and gather some herbs to eat: these learnt that there were many of the enemy with several elephants concealed in the thicket near a tree that stinks like human ordure, and so remedial for the palsy, that in a short space of time it has great effects when bruised and plastered on the injured parts: and in my own house this was tried many a time; and although there are also of these trees in the districts adjacent to Goa yet that of Ceilam has more virtue[1]. Of these troops the servants informed the captain, who sallied forth from Cotta with eighty soldiers[2], and went and took up his position in the old ditch, which had only one single passage, very narrow, and on both sides was very marshy, whereby the position was a very strong one, and safe against all the forces that might come. Thence he sent Bąlthesár Pesanha with thirty soldiers to go through the jungle to discover the enemy; and at a firelock shot's distance he came upon the whole of Rajú's force, which was lying in ambush, with the object of capturing our bastion that lay on that side, because of its being the most important of the whole of Cotta. Our people who were in the midst of that multitude of foes retreated towards the captain, the enemy following hard after them, harassing them with their harquebusery, and reached the captain with one soldier missing, named Antonio Martins, a native of Arronchez, a very good horseman; and when they got back to the ditch they were already so hard pressed by the enemy that these had almost entered together with them. On seeing this, our soldiers, without the captain's order, sallied forth upon them with an amazing fury, and falling upon the enemy they caused great havoc among them; and although those that sallied forth upon them were not more than eight, they went driving them before them like sheep as far as the main body of the army, whence they returned in very good order; but not so scatheless but that all were

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[1] From Couto's description, one would suppose that the tree meant was *Celtis cinnamomea* (called by the Siṉhalese *gúrenda*, from the disgusting odour of its wood when fresh), were it not that this tree does not, apparently, grow under 2,000 feet in Ceylon, nor is it found on the west of India (see Trimen's *Handbook of the Flora of Ceylon* iv. 81). On the other hand, *Clerodendron inerme* (the *wal-gúrenda* of the Siṉhalese), which is very common on the sea-shore in Ceylon and India, is not a tree but a shrub (see Trimen, *op. cit.* iii. 359–60).

[2] Through a strange misinterpretation of Couto's words, Faria y Sousa states that Pedro de Ataide's object was to capture the elephants —apparently for food!

wounded, one of their comrades named Diogo de Mesquita being killed; the others were named Gaspar Fernandez de Aguiár, Pedro de Sousa, Antonio Lourenço, Pedro Fernandez[1], Antonio Dias, Pedro Pirez the Room[2] (he being of that nationality), and Cosmo Gonçalvez. Pedro de Atayde remained there until Rajú should retire to his arrayal, which was at four in the evening.

This occurred two or three days before Christmas, at a time when already in Cotta there were not even jungle herbs, which they had not been able to go out and seek: wherefore the captain dispatched two soldiers, Antonio da Silva and Joaõ Fernandez the Beardless, with a message to Dom Diogo de Atayde of the extreme misery they were in, who got through the jungles to Columbo; and Dom Diogo on learning the state in which they were, dispatched a *pachá* with a message to Pedro de Atayde that he would send along the sea-coast by the outer side some boats of rice as far as the king's palm-grove[3], which will be some three leagues from Columbo, whither he was to take care to send and get it. And forthwith he dispatched the same soldiers with a boat, and two *tones* with ten *candis* of rice, and in the morning of Christmas eve the captain received Dom Diogo's message, and the same day in the morning watch he dispatched Francisco Gomez Leytaõ with a hundred soldiers and some *lascarins* familiar with the country to go and get that provision: which he did with great risk and trouble, and at once returned with the rice, arriving in the daybreak watch at half a league from Cotta, where he found the captain with all the people of the city, who were waiting for him, and with great joy they entered the city; but the captain, who thought he had obtained a supply of rice, found that he had got very little, since the soldiers had left it hidden in the jungle, to go and seek it later, at which the captain was so angry, that he drew his sword, and went at Francisco Gomez Leytaõ to kill him; and he would have done it, if the father Frey Simaõ de Nasaret had not interposed himself: and through that prompt action the soldiers delivered up the rice that they had hidden. With this poor provision they managed for some days with great frugality; and when

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[1] The printed version and Faria y Sousa have "Ribeiro."

[2] Turk (see *supra*, p. 26, note [1]). It is strange to find one of the most hated of the enemies of the Portuguese fighting on their side.

[3] Bañḍárawatta on the road to Negombo is situated at about the distance mentioned by Couto; but it seems much more probable that the "king's garden" lay to the *south* of Columbo, as that would be much more accessible from Cota: it must, therefore, have been somewhere near Ratmalána.

it was finished, as the people were many, they began again to suffer torments of hunger, for which reason several soldiers determined to desert to Rajú, because hunger and cold, says the old adage, will bring you into the house of your enemy.

This was at the end of January 1565[1], when our people found themselves in the extremity of want; and one Francisco de Macedo[2] passing along a street met another soldier named Luis Carvalho, of the household of the Conde do Prádo, who was going along deep in thought; and coming up to him Macedo asked him what he was thinking of as he went along. Carvalho, turning very pale, looked at him and replied, that it was either God or the devil that was speaking in him. Macedo responded, that he might confide in him, as he well knew the thoughts that he had. Carvalho answered, that already he had determined to confess everything to him: and he then told him how a soldier born in India, named Fernaõ Caldeira, was going about trying to get some soldiers to desert to Rajú: and that already there were forty who had resolved one night to desert through the pass of Antonio Cardoso Sueyro, by which they would have to wade, and that they were to carry off a brass *camelete*[3] that was in the pass; and that he had resolved to go with them; because Rajú had ordered to be thrown into that pass and others *olas*, according to which he would receive anyone that chose to come over to him, and would treat him very kindly; and that those who wished to proceed to the fortress of Manar he would allow to go freely and would provide them with necessaries: and these wiles this tyrant always made use of, and by their means got the whole of the king's people to desert to his army.

Francisco de Macedo, who was a very good man, took Luis Carvalho, and carried him off with him, and on the way dissuaded him from that purpose, giving him many reasons why so honourable a man should not undertake an action so abominable and diabolical: because, if he were to go forward with his purpose, that fortress would straightway be lost, and for such a great evil he would have to give a full account to God[4]; because heaven would not fail to chastise rigorously

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[1] In the manuscript the year is written on the margin.

[2] See *supra*, p. 225, note [5]. Evidently what follows is taken almost verbatim from this man's narrative, furnished to Couto, as stated further on (p. 236).

[3] A kind of cannon.

[4] The printed edition omits all that follows of Macedo's arguments: it is a pity Couto did not do likewise, as the matter is scarcely of historical value.

whoever should permit that in the churches where were celebrated the highest mysteries of our redemption the devil should erect altars to the perfidious Mafoma[1], in which his sectaries should sacrifice and should commit the nefand abuses of his depraved law : and with these and similar reasons, dictated by a truly Christian and loyal courage, he went on dissuading him, reminding him by the way of the temporal obligations of honour and fealty—what it was to sell and betray Christians, professors of his law, to barbarous Moors, who with rigorous torments would make them follow the deceptions of the Alcoran, and would cruelly tear to pieces those that despised their diabolical rites; and the infamy that in time to come would rest upon the Portuguese nation in the parts of the East, it being said among the infidels that there was a Portuguese who for a scanty portion of rice betrayed his countrymen and friends, with whom he had crossed such vast seas and sailed to climes so remote[2]; that he should trust in God, because he never entirely forsook whoever knew and confessed his most holy name : and with one discourse and another he brought him to where was the father Frey Simaõ de Nasaret, and before him gave him an account of the affair, and of the determination of those desperados, the which the father heard with very great grief in his heart, and taking Luis Carvalho by the hand, he embraced him many times, and consoled and encouraged him in the present adversity, assuring him of relief with a speediness as great as was the need in which God knew that fortress was : and so many things did he say to him, God moving his tongue, that, with the warnings and admonitions that Francisco de Macedo had given him, Carvalho yielded, confessing his sin, originated by the general strait in which he was ; and leaving Francisco de Macedo with the captain of his bastion, Manoel Lourenço, he went with Luis Carvalho to the captain, and related to him the whole affair, and what had been planned amongst those soldiers.

Pedro de Atayde cast his eyes to heaven, and gave great thanks to God our Lord for the mercy he had shown them in discovering to them that affair, which, had it not become known in that way, could not have failed to cause the loss of that fortress : and embracing Luis Carvalho many times, he spoke

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[1] Muhammad. All the references to "Moors" as forming Rája Siṇha's army, like these to the Muhammadan religion, display an ignorance, which must be credited to Macedo, and not to Couto, who certainly knew better.

[2] This clause is an echo of two lines in the first verse of the *Lusiad.*

to him words of much honour, paying him great compliments, and then he sent to summon Fernaõ Caldeira, the ringleader of the conspiracy; and going aside with him, he warned him of the plan that he had arranged, and regarding this he gave him a short discourse, in it reminding him of the duty he had of offering and giving his life in defence of the Catholic faith, since he was an old Christian, nurtured and sustained with the milk of the Catholic Church, duty to which was the greatest of all; and that it was usual in tyrants to make great promises in order to carry out their intents, and that after attaining their aims they punished and killed the very ones who had betrayed strongholds to them; that he would badly keep his word to men of a different law who had no knowledge of God nor professed truth; that he trusted in his good blood that the worm of conscience must have caused him great repugnance to carrying out such an exorbitant act of desperation; that God was great towards the tiniest little worms of the earth, how much more towards one who had suffered so many troubles to confess his most holy name; and he repeated to him almost the same words that the father Frey Simaõ de Nazareth had spoken to Carvalho: and so many things did he say to him of this nature, that Caldeira threw himself at his feet with great demonstrations of repentance; and the captain raising him up embraced him, and consoled him, promising him on his word, that if he escaped thence he would strive to make him honoured: and they continued such friends, that the captain always endeavoured to keep him near to himself; and in order not to cause a stir about that affair, he did not choose to speak further to the other soldiers of Caldeira's faction, but rather made as though he knew nothing of it. And because there was no money in the fortress, he called the captain of the *inhames*, who was a friend of all the soldiers, and gave him a silver sword of his, and a dagger, and sword-belts, that he might melt it into larins, there being there craftsmen of that calling, and give the greater part to Fernaõ Caldeira, and divide the rest amongst the other soldiers; but nevertheless he ordered strict watch and ward to be kept in the passes, secretly, so that they should not think that he continued to suspect them, so as not to create in them distrust, nor was there amongst them any further disturbance.

Jorge de Mello the Fist, who was in Manár as captain[1], learning of the strait in which those of Cotta were, persuaded the king of Candea, who was already a Christian, and was also

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[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 205, note [2], and p. 219, note [2].

called Dom Joaõ like him of Cotta[1], to send troops to enter the territories of Rajú and put them to fire and sword, in order thus to oblige him to hasten to their help and relieve the fortress, which was in the last strait with the rigour of the siege. It was easy to persuade the king of Candea to this resolution, because he was a mortal enemy of Rajú's: and at once with all speed he dispatched his field captain-general, who was called Dom Afonso[2], with five thousand men, and with him went Belchior de Sousa with thirty men, whom the viceroy Dom Afonso had sent to that king, as if for his bodyguard.

These captains entered Rajú's territories, and proceeded putting them to fire and sword[3], until they reached the city

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[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 133, note [3]; *infra*, p. 242, note [4]. The *Hist. Seraf.*, curiously enough, does not mention the Christian name of this king. After describing the unsuccessful attempts to convert Jayavíra, it adds :—"We had better luck with his son King Mhestana [*sic*, for *mahásthána* = royal highness], who succeeded him on the throne, because without those numerous promises and continual changes we baptized and received him into the flock of Christ. He continued so firm in our sacred law, that on the most wicked Rajù's robbing him of his crown he had not the power to divert him from the faith, but the rather, closely united to it, he died in the arms of our friars." (Regarding his loss of the kingdom and death see *infra*, p. 258.)

[2] Who this man was, I am unable to say. His baptism as a Christian evidently took place during the viceroyalty of D. Affonso de Noronha (1550–4), after whom he was named; and the Portuguese bodyguard here mentioned probably accompanied him from Goa, whither the Christian king of Kandy had doubtless sent him on a mission to the said viceroy.

[3] In *Primor e Honra* I. vi. there is a passage that seems to refer to this period. The writer has been speaking of the miserable condition of certain Portuguese soldiers who had deserted to Rája Sinha and been compelled by him to become heathen, and continues :—"But in order to show by actual example, in the case of those of whom we speak, the evil state to which they will come, it must be mentioned that while many of them were going about in the company of Rajù there was war between him and the king of Candea; Rajù as the more powerful entered his territories, and pitched his arrayal near the city of Angegama [? Am̃bagamuwa], metropolis of the kingdom. With the king of Candea also went Portuguese by command and consent of the viceroys and governors, both because of his being a Christian as also in order that Rajù (who is our friend [*amigo* : but must be an error for *imigo*, enemy]) should not make himself master of the whole island by capturing this kingdom of Candea which is in the heart of it. The arrayals having come together from one side and the other came to join in battle, in which there died many men, and Rajù came off the worse,

of Chiláo, which is very large, and totally destroyed it[1]. These tidings reached Rajú, who was much enraged at them, and determined to press on that affair and finish it with all the risk that he might run, and he commanded to prepare his troops and elephants and engines, in order to make the last assault on the Prea Cotta side: and the day before Rajú sent a letter to the captain, in which he begged and counselled him to deliver up to him the city of Cotta; and he with the king's baggage and artillery might pass freely to Columbo: and that he should not insist on their all dying of hunger, because he well knew the state in which he was through lack of provisions; regarding which he had already written to him twice or thrice before, but this was with more liberality in the offers. The captain replied to Rajú, that as long as he heard his drums beat, and these had skins and the shoes soles for them to eat, they must sustain themselves inside the walls of that fortress, as the king of Portugal had commanded them; however, after these were finished, and necessity constrained them, that he would take care to go to his arrayal to seek for provisions for his soldiers; and that he reminded him that it was not well for him to have such guests in his house.

Thus our people remained at the last extreme of life, without having anything to eat, until the 11th of February [1565], which was a Sunday; when at three o'clock in the afternoon there came a Chingalá woman to the bastion of Prea Cotta and called out to open to her, because she must speak with the captain; who ordered her to be brought in, and having been

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and as defeated left the field and retired to his territories. And as the infidels consider us valiant, and, as they say, we cost them little to feed they always put us in the forefront, and so Rajù did to the renegades that went in his company, of whom the greater part died in the battle: those of Candea gave sepulture to their people; those of the enemy remained on the field. And as the island of Seilaõ is full of many reptiles and wild beasts and vultures and other birds that devour human flesh, all these fell upon the dead bodies, and in a very few days there remained of the people of the country only the bones; but not a thing touched the accursed and excommunicated bodies of the renegade Portuguese soldiers, and so they remained entire, since neither wild beasts, nor birds, nor reptiles cared to eat them, nor the earth itself to receive them, at which even the heathens were amazed, going with their noses stopped because of the great stench."

[1] This is the first mention by Couto of the "city" of Chilaw. The "city" must have been rebuilt soon after the demolition here spoken of, for in X. x. xvi. *infra* (p. 377) we shall hear of its being again destroyed by Manoel de Sousa Coutinho in 1588.

brought before him, she told him to prepare himself, because that night Rajú was going to make the final assault on all parts of Prea Cotta, and that into it he would put all the remainder of his strength. All there considered that this woman was the guardian angel of that fortress, who came to warn them of that assault, for without doubt Rajú would have succeeded in his aims if in it he had taken the soldiers unawares and exhausted by the weakness of hunger. So says Francisco de Macedo in the account that he sent me of this siege; but the captain of the *inhames* told me on many occasions that that woman was or had been the concubine of a soldier of ours, of whom she was fond; and seeing the risk in which the fortress was, came to warn him, with the aim of seeing if she could save him, should any disaster befall that fortress, and that this soldier brought her to convey the warning to the captain. In fine, however it was, she seemed directed by heaven to come and give that warning to the captain, who at once dispatched to Columbo Antonio da Silva, who had already been there several times, by whom he sent word to Dom Diogo de Atayde, that as soon as he heard bombard shots that night he should move from there with all his men, and go and fall on the rear of the enemy, who would be fully occupied with the assault that they intended to deliver on Prea Cotta, the which post he immediately ordered to be provided with many munitions and the arms doubled; and he in person with those that accompanied him, and the king with them, took up their position in one of the bastions of Prea Cotta, where most might be feared.

Antonio da Silva reached Columbo whilst it was still day, and found already there in that fort Jorge de Mello, captain of Manár, who with one hundred soldiers had arrived the day before in order to succour our people; and hearing the message, at once they all took the field, in order to set out at night; and Dom Diogo ordered to discharge a *camelete*, which was the signal that Pedro de Atayde had ordered, to know if Antonio da Silva had arrived there, the which was heard well in Cotta, whereby Pedro de Atayde was in some measure relieved, because he had a sure sign that he would be succoured, although he had no information that to this end Jorge de Mello had arrived at Columbo.

At the beginning of the daylight watch next day Rajú attacked the city all round, and he in person with the greatest force attacked Prea Cotta, having in front of him the elephants, in order that with their foreheads they might ram the bastions, which were of wood; but they encountered so many deadly weapons, and in the few and debilitated men who defended them met with such doughty deeds, that they were astounded

at what they saw and experienced. The greatest force, which attacked the city all round, crossed the river at six points on very thick mats of bamboos[1]; but on the other side they found our men so ready, alert, and skilful, that in spite of them they drove them back with many killed, because they aimed their harquebuses as they pleased and in perfect safety. Nevertheless, as they attempted to disembark at so many places, the Moors gained entrance to a pass, some of our men being killed; and the news spreading, the captain hastened to help, and the king with some of his messengers, and finding the enemy inside the pass, they fell upon them, and they engaged hand to hand in a very fierce battle, in which Pedro de Atayde kept ever in front of all, performing so many deeds of valour with his arm, that with much reason and most just cause we may say that he alone effected with his own hands more than all; and whilst going about in the full force of the fight, his sword became unhilted and flew from his hand, leaving in the latter only the hilt and guard, he having many dead Moors in front of him; and springing to a soldier, he took from his hands a halberd, with which he rushed into the midst of the enemy, performing such prodigies, that he once more drove them out of the pass. And although he with his own hands did much, those that accompanied him did not a little; but rather such doughty deeds, that of each one could be formed lengthy chapters; and I do not specify their names, because all that I can say of one I could say of all, since I know of nothing in which anyone excelled the others.

There was no less stress and strait in the other passes; but our men, ragged and famished, and most of them of unknown names, in their defence performed such deeds of valour and caused such havoc amongst the enemy, that it was a marvellous thing. In one pass, in which the stress was greater, was the king, who had hastened thither to help, and did it like a very worthy knight; and he that did most there was Estevaõ[2] Gonçalvez, master captain of the *inhames*, in that on the approach of the rafts for the Moors to put troops on land he sprang into the river and immersed himself knee-deep, and there did feats like a lion, the king watching him and remaining amazed at the prowesses that

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[1] This seems to be the most probable reading. The manuscript has "esteirões .... de bardas" (mats of bark or of briars), the 1673 printed version has "cestoens .... de bãdeis" (baskets of bandels !), while the edition of 1786 has "esteirões de bambús," which, I think, is most likely correct.

[2] He is called "Gaspar" above (p. 225). Both the manuscript and the printed version of 1673 have this inconsistency.

he wrought, which were such that he was sufficient, with the musketry, to make the enemy retire with great loss, so that the river in that and other parts was full of dead bodies and dyed with the blood of the enemies. The captain of the *inhames*, seeing the Moors retired, came up on land transformed into a rustic by being coated with mud, and covered with blood; and the king seeing him ran to him, and embraced him many times, exaggerating with hyperbolic encomiums the lofty prowesses that he had seen him perform; and divesting himself of a crimson robe that he wore all fastened with gold buttons, clothed him with it. This pass is called that of the *pachás*, in which were some twenty men, and we may say that four soldiers alone defended it against three thousand Moors who attacked it: these were, the captain of the *inhames*, who surpassed all, Ignacio de Gamboa Falcaõ, Pedro Pirez the Room, and another whose name they could not tell me, but who did not deserve, for his valorous courage, to remain in oblivion; and each of them performed such prowesses in defence of the pass, that Manlius did not perform greater in defence of the Capitol, which was a different kind of fortress.

In all the passes there was hard work; and although in all resounded clamours and cries, and shouts for help were heard, no one moved from his place, which he kept, because the captain had so ordered them.

Whilst this conflict was in progress the two captains Dom Diogo de Atayde and Jorge de Mello with all the troops from Columbo reached Cotta at the place where Rajú's arrayal was; and finding it deserted, they set fire to it, and halted there, because they did not know where the enemy was, it being very dark. Our men in Prea Cotta were in great stress, because at the time that the captain came to the help of the pass that had been forced, Rajú was attacking with his whole force, striving all he could to gain an entrance; but it was very well defended against him by fifty soldiers who were in that part, who besides the defence performed the loftiest prowesses and wrought such havoc among the enemy, that had they not been aided by the divine arm, they could not by human agency have escaped that fury and unequal strength: and the enemies themselves said afterwards, that they saw a most beautiful woman, who, arriving at that moment with a blue mantle, extended it over our men, and sheltered them from those clouds of arrows and bullets that rained upon them: and that the same woman caught in the air the enemies' darts and hurled them back upon themselves: and that they likewise saw an old man clad in red, who with a staff that he bore caused great havoc among the Chingalás; and they affirmed that the sight of that lady and of the venerable old man caused them all

such great terror, that forthwith they fell into a panic of their own accord: and we may piously believe that this old man was the blessed and chaste Saint Joseph, who in that crisis had accompanied his most holy spouse the most holy Virgin Mary our Lady.

Rajú, seeing the discomfiture of his forces, and that daylight was already breaking, removed from where he was, and commanded to give a signal to the captains that were in the other passes, who forthwith retired and went retreating in disorder by different roads; and Rajú, without taking that to his arrayal, went retreating towards Ceitaváca: and without doubt if Dom Diogo de Atayde and Jorge de Mello had gone harassing him in the rear, they would have succeeded in utterly routing him; but they, when they learnt of his flight, fearing that he had gone against Columbo, which was left to itself, without communicating with Pedro de Atayde set off in great haste to the help of their city. The captain Pedro de Atayde, when he saw himself relieved, threw out spies in order to get information regarding the enemy, who had already crossed over the river Calané, and went the round of all the posts, and found that not a soldier had been killed in all that combat except one named Francisco Fernandez Gameiro: upon which he went out to the field, and saw that notable havoc that had been wrought among the enemy, and found that the number of the dead exceeded two thousand, besides a larger quantity that were wounded, of whom many died; and seeing that in the fortress there was only enough to eat for that day, he ordered the soldiers to collect the dead bodies, in order to salt them in slices, so that, if the enemy returned, they might avail themselves of that provender: and so in a short space of time they set aside and reserved four hundred of the fattest[1]; and a mulatto called Fernaõ Nunez then and there opened one and took out the liver, which he roasted and ate. The father Frey Simaõ de Nasareth, seeing those corpses being collected, hastened with great alacrity and requested the captain not to collect the dead, because it was a thing prohibited to Christians to eat human flesh: to which Pedro de Atayde replied that in the extreme need in which they were everything was permitted; and whilst they were thus debating, there came to the captain a Christian Caffre, who had come from Rajú's arrayal, and told him how he had been routed, and had had a large number of men killed, and that he had left him already in Seitavaca, upon which the captain desisted from the carrion business that he had ordered to be commenced, and commanded to set fire to all those corpses.

[1] Faria y Sousa wrongly says that the bodies were actually salted.

Two hours later there arrived from Columbo some provisions, and after them Dom Diogo de Atayde and Jorge de Mello with all the others that they could muster, whom they went out to receive with as much joy and gladness as those of men who thought they had that hour been resuscitated; and in the midst of so much joy there was not wanting envy on the part of those of Columbo at seeing those men so debilitated and weak who had all done such lofty deeds: and thus ragged and disfigured, they remained such gentlemen, that the Romans might envy them at the time of their greatest prosperity as defenders and conquerors of their empire.

Pedro de Atayde presently went to Columbo to recruit, and left in Cotta Francisco de Miranda Henriquez with some of the soldiers that had come from Columbo, because those of Cotta also went with Pedro de Atayde to renew their strength.

This siege lasted four months; and the last forty days were days of cruel hunger, in which they ate nothing but herbs, and even those failed some days, for which reason one may count this siege as one of the most celebrated in the whole world.

DEC. VIII., CHAP. vii.

Of the abandonment of the city of Cotta for Columbo.

The viceroy, seeing the great trouble to the state that the siege of Cotta gave, and would give if Rajú should return against it, resolved with those of his council that it should be abandoned, and that the king should transfer himself to Columbo: for the execution of which he sent[1] Diogo de Mello[2] to remain as captain in that fortress[3], who took the following

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[1] In March or April 1565, apparently.

[2] Which Diogo de Mello, is not stated. In VII. x. xv. *supra* (p. 219) we read of Diogo de Mello *Coutinho* as captain of Manar in 1563 (but see note [2] there), and in VIII. xxxii. *infra* (p. 254) we shall hear of his being sent to Ceylon as captain of Columbo in 1570.

[3] This is somewhat puzzling. As we have seen above (p. 224), the captain of Columbo at the time of the great siege of Cota in 1564–5 was Pedro de Ataide Inferno, of whom we last read as returning to Columbo in February 1565, after the raising of the siege. Couto does not mention this man again (as far as I can find); but from *Primor e Honra* 92 it appears that he went from Ceylon to become captain of Negapatam (when, is not stated). If he was superseded in the command of Columbo by Diogo de Mello *Coutinho*, the latter must in his turn have been relieved by some other captain, or this was some other Diogo de Mello (*cf.* preceding note).

vessels[1]: he himself in a galliot, Manuel Luzarte Tiçaõ, Fernaõ Vas Pinto, Antonio Froes, Fernaõ Trinchaõ, Antonio da Costa Travassos, who had come from Columbo[2]. This armada having arrived[3] at that fortress, Diogo de Mello immediately put the business into execution[4], and went to fetch the king, and withdrew the friars and demolished the temple that they had there; and left the whole deserted, and transferred all those things to Columbo, where lodgings were prepared for the king[5], whom ours of Portugal commanded to be very well treated, and ordered that of all the money that was owing to him he should be given every year two thousand xerafins for his maintenance[6], because he was disinherited and without lands from which he might obtain sustenance, and only possessed some villages in the districts about Columbo[7]: and from that time forward the captains of that fortress, and some others that came to its succour, continued to extort from that poor king even what was due to him, for one would ask him for two thousand cruzados as a favour, another for one thousand, and another for five hundred, and thus little by little they went on consuming him, all of which the viceroys paid: which becoming

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[1] Only one vessel is described. [2] See *supra*, VII. x. xv., p. 222.

[3] Perhaps in April 1565.

[4] No time could be lost, as the burst of the south-west monsoon was at hand.

[5] The *Rájávaliya* (73 of Siṇh. ed.) says:—"King Dharmapála retired to Kolaṁba by night. King Rája Siṇha having laid waste the city of Kóṭṭé returned to Hítávaka. From that day the Portuguese and king Dharmapála resided in Koḷontoṭa." (Then occurs a big hiatus in this historical narrative, the events of fifteen years, 1566–80, being entirely unrecorded—a deplorable and unaccountable fact.) Valentyn, whose version of the *Rájávaliya* ends here, says (*Ceylon* 82):—"The empire of Cotta, as the emperor was driven from there by Raja Singa Rajoe, lasted only 10 years, and he found himself obliged to flee from there with the Portuguese, and to abandon everything." Valentyn adds:—"It is asserted that thus it is found in a certain old writing, and there also noted that this occurred on 15th March, *anno* 1514 (although later)." The year, of course, is absurdly incorrect; and I doubt if the exodus from Cotta took place earlier than April. With this shameful abandonment by the Portuguese of Cotta its history ended, and now scarcely a vestige remains of the buildings that once adorned it (see paper on "Alakéswara: his Life and Times," by Mr. E. W. Perera, in C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 281 ff., and *cf.* C. A. S. Jl. x. 152, 170).

[6] *Cf. supra*, p. 167, note [1]. This pension is referred to in several of the royal letters to the viceroys printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (see 42, 180–1, 254).

[7] These villages and districts are named in an *alvará* of 13 February 1601, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* vi. 737.

known to the king Dom Sebastiaõ, he commanded that the money that had been given in those parts should be collected again, and that never again must the king make grants of money that was owing to him[1]: the which I believe did not take effect[2].

After Diogo de Mello had left, the viceroy immediately sent off some foists belonging to private persons with these provisions[3]: ten thousand xerafins in money, three hundred *candis* of wheat, eight hundred of rice, two hundred quintals of biscuit, many munitions, cotton cloths, and other things of that sort. . . . . . .

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DEC. VIII., CHAP. X.

Of the provision that was made this year for Ceylam.

In this September of 1565 the viceroy Dom Antaõ de Noronha sent a galleon to Ceilaõ, it being again at war[4], in

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[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 166, note [3].

[2] This is proved by references to the subject in the royal letters cited in note [6], p. 241; and that the extortion went on until Dharmapála's death is evident from what we read in a royal letter of 10 March 1598, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 857.

[3] It is not said to what place these were sent, but we may presume it was to Ceylon.

[4] This shows that Rája Siṇha had again taken the field, emboldened, doubtless, by the Portuguese confession of weakness in their abandonment of Cota. Owing to the irreparable loss of Couto's original Eighth and Ninth Decades, and the unaccountable hiatus in the *Rájávaliya* mentioned above, we are left without any details of the events in Ceylon for the next sixteen years, with the exception of the curious episode related in chapters xii.–xiii. below. It was during this period that the Venetian merchant traveller Cesare Federici visited Ceylon; but in what year he was in Columbo is not clear from his narrative. As the English translation of Federici's book by Hickocke (published 1588) is full of gross blunders (not to mention misprints), which Hakluyt, in his somewhat amended version (*Principal Navigations* ii. 225-6), has failed to correct, I here give an accurate translation of that portion of the traveller's narrative that deals with historical events in Ceylon at this period:—" Seilam is a large island, and in my judgment a good deal bigger than Cyprus. On the side that looks towards India on the west is the city of Colombo, a fortress of the Portuguese, but outside its walls is in the hands of the enemies; only towards the sea has it the port free [the Eng. trans. has ' but without wales (*sic*) or enimies (!): it hath towards the sea his (*sic*) free port']. The lawful king of this island is in Colombo, having been made a Christian and deprived of the kingdom, sustained by the king of Portugal. The

which went as captain Fernaõ Rodrigues de Carvalho[1], who carried two hundred *candis* of wheat, four hundred of rice, and many munitions; for in this manner the viceroys were wont at that time to provide the fortresses of India.

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Dec. VIII., Chap. xii.

The king of Pegú sends to ask of the king of Ceylaõ a daughter in marriage.

Though I should spend a long time in describing the superstitions of these barbarous heathen Pegús and Bramás[2],

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heathen king to whom the kingdom belonged, called Madoni, having two sons, the prince named Barbinas [see *infra*, p. 273, note [1]], and the second named Ragiu, was by the astuteness of the younger son deprived of the kingdom, because the latter, having made the whole soldiery favourable to himself, in despite of his father and of the prince his brother, usurped to himself the kingdom, and is a great warrior. At first this island had three kings:—Ragiu with his father and his brother Barbinas; the king of Cotta with his conquests; the king of Candia in a part of the island that is called the kingdom of Candia, who had considerable power and was a great friend of the Portuguese, and it was said that he lived secretly as a Christian; there was [also] the king of Gianifanpatan. For the last thirteen years Ragiu has impatronized himself of the whole island, and has made himself a great tyrant ...... I was desirous of seeing how the cinnamon is peeled from the tree that produces it, and all the more because when I was in the island it was the season, as it was peeled in the month of April: wherefore, although the Portuguese were at war with the king of the island, and therefore I ran great danger in going out of the city, yet nevertheless I wished to satisfy this wish of mine, and having gone out with a guide, I went into a wood three miles distant from the city, in which were a good many trees of cinnamon, ..." As we do not know when the writer was in Ceylon, we cannot tell exactly what are the "thirteen years" of Rája Siṇha's dominancy of which he speaks. (See *supra*, p. 208, note [3], regarding Máyádunné's abdication in favour of his son Rája Siṇha, *circa* 1558–9.)

[1] In *Arch. Port.-Or.* v. is a royal letter of 19 February 1561, granting to this man the posts of captain and factor of the ships going from India to Ceylon for cinnamon for three successive voyages.

[2] The word "these" here is puzzling, as Couto has not spoken of the Peguans or Burmese since he told us (p. 212) of the mission from the king of Pegu in 1560–1 to D. Constantino de Bragança with the object of ransoming the tooth-relic captured at Jaffna. The "superstitions" of the Peguans he had treated of in V. v. ix. and V. vi. i. (see extract from the latter, *supra*, p. 108).

I could never succeed in telling the smallest part of their delusions: and for that reason, when I treat of any, it is only in passing, as I shall now do here. On the birth of this Bramá king[1] the astrologers made great astrological observations and constructions of diagrams to learn his good or bad fortune, and the things good or evil that were to befall him during his life. Among the absurdities that they wrote down as having noted on this subject was that he was to marry a daughter of the king of Ceilaõ, that there were to be such and such marks, and that the lineaments of her body were to be of certain measurements, which they thereupon recorded; and the Bramá king of Pegú, wishing to give fulfilment to the absurdities which they called prophecies, sent ambassadors to the king Dom Joaõ of Columbo, in that he alone by blood and legitimacy was the rightful emperor of the whole island, to ask him for a daughter to wife, and sent him a ship laden with provisions, as there were none in Ceilaõ[2], and many trinkets and rich jewels. These ambassadors reached Columbo at the same time that the king left Cotta for that city[3], whom the king received with much honour and entertainment; and learning for what purpose they had come, he dissembled over the business, not denying that he had no daughter, as in fact he had not, nor has had[4], in which his astrologers had already lied and deceived themselves; but as he had brought up in his household a daughter of his grand chamberlain's, who was likewise of royal blood, whom Francisco Barreto when governor made a Christian and gave him his name[5], by whom on account of his parts and kinship the king was very much led, and we may assert that he ordered everything.

Of this maiden the king was very fond, and called her daughter, and honoured her as such; and after the ambassadors of the Bramá had presented to him their commission he always placed her with him at table, and called her daughter, and under this name he wished to give her to the Bramá as his wife; but he feared that the captain of Columbo[6] would prevent

[1] See *supra*, p. 212. note [1]. The curious episodes related in this and the following chapter do not appear to be recorded in the native annals of Burma. Couto refers to them in VII. IX. ii. (pp. 191–2). Phayre (*Hist. of Burma* 117) erroneously ascribes these events to the years 1574–6.

[2] *Cf. supra*, pp. 242, 243. The lack of provisions was confined to Columbo and its vicinity, and was due to the blockade set up by Máyádunné.

[3] About April 1565 (see p. 241, note [3]).

[4] Dharmapála was childless (*cf. supra*, p. 100, and *infra*, p. 414).

[5] As stated in VII. II. iv. (see p. 172, note [4]).

[6] Diogo de Mello.

his doing it, and that the fathers of Saint Francis would do the same, although she was still a heathen: because as they had that sheep within doors, and any day might make her a Christian, as they intended and each day hoped, it was certain that they would hinder her from making the journey. All these matters he discussed with his grand chamberlain, who was sagacious and a man of great contrivance and had the king entirely under his thumb[1]; who seeing that the king was dispossessed of Cotta and poor, and that by this marriage would be opened up a way to great trade with the Bramá, and that the maiden his daughter would be the latter's wife, told the king that he would arrange for her to be taken away without its being known in Columbo.

But much further even did his industry go: in that from the tine of a stag he made a tooth just like that which Dom Constantino carried off of the white ape[2], and enchased it in gold, and made a *charola*[3], very costly with many precious stones, in which he placed it; and the grand chamberlain[4] conversing one day with the Bramá's ambassadors and the *talupões* that had accompanied them (who were their bishops and monks[5]), who came to make offerings to the footprint of Adam, which all adore and venerate[6], gave them in great

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[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 156, note [1].

[2] So in the manuscript. In the printed edition the word "white" is wanting; nor does Couto in VII. IX. ii. mention the colour of the ape. Faria y Sousa, however, in his account of Dom Constantino's "great renunciation," asserts (*Asia Port.* II. II. xvi.) that the tooth was that of a white ape, and compares the sacredness of the white elephant in Siam.

[3] According to Vieyra's Port. Dict. this word is synonymous with *andor*, litter (regarding which see *Hob.-Job.*). In XII. v. iv. Couto, describing the grandeur of the king of Pegu, says:—"And when this king wished to go out he went in a *charola* overlaid with gold, with many precious stones, and was borne on the shoulders of thirty-six chief men," &c. It is in this sense that Couto uses the word here and elsewhere. But *charola* in Portuguese also meant a niche in which images were placed (see Fr. Dom. Vieira's *Grande Dicc. Port. s.v.*): and it is in the latter sense that Teixeira uses the word in describing a Hindu temple at Barcelor in Kanara (see Teix. 211, where note 2 is incorrect). Ralph Fitch (162) describes the Peguan monarch's litter, and adds: "This coach in their language is called *Serrion.*" I suspect that in *charola* two words, one of Latin and one of Eastern origin, have been confused.

[4] The printed edition here inserts "who was still a heathen." He was probably a Christian only "from the teeth outwards."

[5] See *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Talapoin."

[6] *Cf. supra*, V. VI. ii., p. 110.

secrecy an account of that business, and of how the king Dom Joaõ had the real tooth of the ape, or of their Quiár[1]; and the one that Dom Constantino carried off was a false one and an imitation: inasmuch as by the ingenuity of the king it was made to the end that he should be left with the genuine one, which he esteemed more than all the riches of the East, but as the king had become a Christian at the instance of the Portuguese, he had kept the tooth in his house in the greatest secrecy, with all the suitableness that was possible to him. The ambassadors and *talupões* on hearing that were very glad, and with great insistancy begged the king's chamberlain to show it to them, the which he promised them under great assurances, cautions, and promises that no one should learn from them that secret, nor the king have knowledge of what he had revealed to them, the which ceremonies and precautions stimulated all the more the curiosity of the ambassadors to importune him; and after some days of much intreaty, during which he kept on expressing fears to them, one night he allowed himself to be conquered by their intreaties, and took them with great caution to his house, where with great preparations and feigned reverences he showed them the tooth in the *charola* in which it was on an altar much adorned with lights and perfumes, and on seeing it they prostrated themselves on the ground, and adored it many times with great ceremonies and superstitious rites, in which they spent the greater part of the night, and afterwards conversed with the grand chamberlain regarding the tooth, begging him to send it to the Bramá with his daughter, in order that the pleasure and festivities of the wedding might be more, and they pledged their word to him that the Bramá should send him a million of gold, and every year a ship laden with rice and provisions, as they had promised: all of which was settled in great secrecy, so that only the king and his chamberlain knew of it.

As soon as the weather was fit for this maiden to embark[2], the grand chamberlain carried it out with such secrecy, that neither Diogo de Mello, captain of Columbo, nor the fathers

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[1] This should be Quiái, as it is spelt in V. VI. i. (below spelt Quiay). Valentyn, in the list of Javanese words at the end of the last part of his great work, has "*kijay*, een heer." It is, in fact, the Talaing *kyåik* = Buddha, lord, master. (*Cf.* Ovington's *Voyage to Suratt*, &c., 566, 576.) Ralph Fitch (168) spells the word *kiack*, and wrongly explains it as "their [the Peguans'] holy place or temple." Tennent's footnote in his *Ceylon* ii. 217 is both inaccurate in statement and erroneous in surmise.

[2] At the close of the south-west monsoon, doubtless.

had the remotest idea of it[1]: and there went with the ambassadors the king of Ceilaõ's, who was Andre Bayaõ *modeliar*[2]; and sailing with good weather, they made landfall at another port below Cosmi[3], where they disembarked, and informed the Bramá of all that had happened, and of the arrival of the queen, which was a great joy to the king and all the grandees; and immediately the king dispatched all the *ximes*[4] (who are the dukes and grandees) to accompany her, and sent her jewels and very costly stuffs; and all this people, which was without number, went down the river in many boats, which they call *legões*[5], which are like galleys, all gilded and awninged, and with silk flags of richly ordered colours; and that in which the queen was to embark had the awning and cabin all overlaid with gold, and was equipped with beautiful and richly attired women, who rowed better and more in stroke than the galley-slaves of Europe, and of these women the king had many in separate wards, and it is certain that they married one another, and lived in houses two and two like married couples: and I have spoken with several Portuguese who were captives in Siaõ, and chiefly with one Antonio Toscano[6], who was my neighbour and who still has sons in Goa, who said that they went many a time to see these wards of the marineresses, and that it was true that they were married to one another. In this galley that I have been describing the king commanded

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[1] It is certainly strange that none of the Portuguese in Columbo should have got wind of the affair.

[2] What this man's Siṃhalese name was, I do not know. In VI. II. vi. Couto mentions a brave soldier of the same name, and in the account of the siege of Columbo in 1587–8 we read of a Sebastião and a Jeronymo Bayão, who may have been sons of the mudaliyár's. As Manoel de Sousa Coutinho's father was lord of Bayão, we may assume that captain to have been sponsor to the mudaliyár at his baptism.

[3] In manuscript erroneously "Cosri." On this port see *Hob.-Job.* *s.v.* "Cosmin."

[4] In the next chapter we have the form *ximĩs*, and in XII. v. iii. Couto gives the singular as *xemim*. Ralph Fitch (161) has "his noblemen which they call Shemines." The word is Talaing *thamín*. E. B. Michell's Siamese-English Dictionary has "*cha'meun*, a superior class of king's pages having the same rank as a *phra*."

[5] In printed edition of 1786 *lagoas*. In V. v. ix. Couto describes the boats as like galleys, with two tiers of oars, and says that they were called *chalavegões*. E. B. Michell's Siamese-English Dictionary has "*cha'laum*, a small sea vessel" (*cf. Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Chelingo").

[6] Couto mentions this man again in XII. v. v., whence it appears that in 1594 Toscano was again in Pegu, when he and other Portuguese were made prisoners by the Burmese king.

to embark the wife of the *banhá*[1] of the old city, as her lady of the bedchamber and governess, and other very beautiful ladies.

This structure having arrived, the principal lady of the bedchamber went to visit the queen and do reverence to her, and began to execute her office: and as she was a very old woman, and of great respect and authority, the queen began to treat her as a mother. Some days having passed, during which the grand lady of the bedchamber had charge of her and they were on terms of great friendship, she said one day in speaking to her, that the Bramá king had been informed by his astrologers that he was to marry a princess of Ceilaõ who would have certain measurements of the legs, arms, and head, as was all set forth in those books, which the lady of the bedchamber showed her: that therefore she must give her leave, since of it was of great importance, that she should take those measurements upon her: that that was the principal cause for which the king had sent her, because he trusted her alone with her person. The princess listened to her very gravely, and with great haughtiness replied, that her body should be touched by no other person besides the king her husband: that they would go to Pegú, and that there he could take what measurements he wished. The lady of the bedchamber could not persuade her to do anything else; but she at once informed the king of what had taken place, who had advice of what occurred by couriers daily; and on hearing this message that the lady of the bedchamber sent him of what had taken place with the queen he rejoiced greatly at it, and made great pleasantries over it, and commanded that they should immediately journey to Pegú, which she did: and on the way she was accompanied by all the chief men of the cities and towns by which they passed, with many signs of rejoicing, dances, and music, and also with many costly girts and presents, until she arrived at the city of Pegú, where she disembarked with the greatest majesty, pomp, and splendour that can be imagined. The son and heir of the king went to receive her at her disembarkation, and in all the streets through which she passed she found novel forms of arches, theatricals, costly objects, and various figures which the natives of the kingdoms subject to the Bramá had made in her honour. The king came out to receive her at the gate of the palace in which she was to reside, which was furnished in the most suitable style with every article for the bedchamber, drawing-room, and wardrobe, and everything else necessary to the wife of such a wealthy and powerful monarch, and afterwards he set apart

[1] In XII. v. iii. Couto says that this word means "governor."

large revenues for the expenses of her household. These first days he spent with her, commanding to bring her to his house, and had her sworn as queen with great ceremonial; but as he had in his household many princesses, daughters of kings his vassals, as concubines, and other very beautiful ladies all within doors, interred more than in a convent, and she came to know that he consorted with them, she began to be filled with jealousy and to display anger and bitterness towards him, a thing that no one had ever shown towards him, nor did he understand what it was, and he greatly enjoyed it, and had hearty laughs and jests. Of all these things the eunuchs that waited on the queen informed Antonio Toscano, with whom they were on terms of friendship, who told me all this and other things, which I omit so as not to appear prolix.

But as in those parts there is nothing that is not known, the Bramá king came to learn that that maiden was not the daughter of the king of Ceilaõ, but of his chamberlain, because it seems that Andre Bayaõ, who had gone thither with her as ambassador, came to let his tongue run too fast (as they say) when conversing with some *ximes*[1] of Pegú, who told it to the king, who made little of this matter, because of his now being fond of her, and also because the *talupões* and ambassadors who went to ask for the queen had given him an account of the ape's tooth and of the veneration in which that king held it, and of how it had been agreed with him that he should give it up: which the Bramá highly esteemed, because that tooth, which they considered as that of their idol Quiay, he esteems above everything in life: and it has pleased God that thus we have set in esteem a tooth of Saint Apollonia's; but I shall not say much as to its being this saint's, but a nail with which Christ was nailed, or a thorn that pierced his sacred head, or the iron of the lance that rent his sacred breast, all of which were captive in the power of the Turks for many years, without the Christian kings' sending to redeem them, as this Bramá king did to the feigned tooth of the devil, or of the stag: because he forthwith dispatched the same ambassadors and *talupões* back again to ask for that tooth, and for it sent that king the greatest riches, with promises of others still greater. These ambassadors arrived at Columbo[2], and treated of the business in secret with that king, who delivered to them the tooth in its *charola* with great ceremonies and precautions, and with it they embarked in great haste in the same ship that they had brought for that purpose.

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[1] The printed edition has "Chinas" (Chinese).

[2] In the early part of 1566, probably.

DEC. VIII., CHAP. xiii.

Of the grandeur with which this tooth was received in Pegú.

The ambassadors took only a few days to reach Cosmy, the port of Pegú, where at once the news spread of the arrival of the tooth of their idol Quiay, and all the *talupões* and people that dwelt there came flocking to worship it with great veneration; and for its disembarkation they made innumerable *jangádas* on boats with coverings erected above, much carved and adorned; and the boat in which the accursed tooth was to disembark was all plated with gold and silver and other very costly curiosities: word was immediately sent to Pegú to the Bramá, who forthwith in great haste sent all the grandees of his court to receive it, and began preparing the place where it was to be deposited, in which the Bramá displayed all his power and wealth. The tooth was brought up the river, which was crowded with costly boats, and that part of the boat in which was the *charola* incircled with so many lights, that they hid the light of day.

The Bramá, when he had everything ready, embarked in his boats overlaid with gold and adorned with brocades, and went to meet it two days' journey; and when he came in sight of the boats in which the tooth was coming, he went into the room of his galley, and washed and purified himself with many scented waters, and attired himself in the richest clothes that he had; and as soon as he reached the *jangada* in which the tooth was being brought, from the prow where he entered as far as the poop where the tooth was he went all the way on his knees with great manifestations of devotion; and on reaching the altar upon which stood the *charola*, he took the casket in which the tooth was in his hands, and placed it many times on his head, and offered the most solemn prayers, with wonderful formalities, and then returned it to its place and accompanied it as far as the city, the whole of that river exhaling the sweetest scents, which all those boats carried; and at the disembarkation of the tooth the most honoured *talupões* and *ximĩs* of all the kingdoms rushed into the sea, and the principal ones took the *charola* upon their shoulders. and went marching towards the palace with such a concourse of people, that it would have been impossible to penetrate it; and the principal lords stripped off their rich and costly garments, and went spreading them out on the ground, so that those who bore that abominable relic might pass over it.

The Portuguese that were present were dumbfoundered at seeing that brutish folly and display; and Antonio Toscano, who as I have said above was one of them, told me things of the display and grandeur with which it was received, which I

know not how to describe, and confess that words and style fail me therefor: in fine, all that the emperors and kings in the world all combined could do in a most solemn festival, in which all wished to ostentate the greatest majesty and power, this barbarian by himself did. The tooth having been disembarked was placed in the middle of the parade ground of the palace, where had been erected for it a very gorgeous tabernacle, to which both the king and all the grandees went to offer their richest gifts, which were immediately written down by officials who were deputed for that purpose.

There it remained for two months, until it was transferred to a *varella*[1] that had just been finished making in the place where he conquered and routed the Ximido Sataõ[2], who rose against him and usurped the kingdom, in gratitude for that great victory[3]. And to make an end with these things, as they are all closely connected, I shall deal with those that took place between the king of Candea and this Bramá with respect to the king Dom Joaõ of Ceilaõ, although they took place in the coming year; but as they fall in here, I do not care to leave them until later.

These matters, which the king Dom Joaõ carried out in such secrecy with the Bramá, both that of the marriage of that maiden under the name of his daughter and that of the ape's tooth, soon came to the ears of the king of Candea[4], who learning how matters stood, and of the great riches that the Bramá king had sent him for the tooth that he pretended to be the ape's, being filled with envy of all this, as he was a near relative of the king Dom Joaõ's and married to his sister[5] (though there were not wanting some who said that she was his daughter[6]), dispatched ambassadors to the Bramá, who

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[1] Pagoda (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*).

[2] The printed edition of 1673 has *temido Sataõ* ("dreaded Satan"!), while the manuscript has the still funnier error *timido santaõ* ("timid hypocrite," or "timid santon"!). The conquest of this Ximi de Satão (thamín of Sittang) is recorded by Couto in VII. II. v.; but it was Xemindo (Thaminhtoa) who was defeated by Thaminsoadwut, the latter in his turn being defeated by Bureng-Naung, the king of whom we are now reading (see Phayre's *Hist. of Burma* 102 *et seq.*).

[3] Tennent's version of the foregoing is as follows (*Ceylon* ii. 220):—"Here it remained two months, till the vihare (*varela*) which they set about erecting could be constructed, and on which such expenditure was lavished as to cause an insurrection in the kingdom"!

[4] See *supra*, p. 234, notes [1] and [3], and p. 242, note [4].

[5] I cannot verify this statement (*cf. infra*, p. 261, note [1]).

[6] The manuscript has "que naõ hera filha ," which, with the unfilled blank, does not make sense.

received them with honour ; and when he gave them audience they informed him on the part of their king that that maiden whom the king Dom Joaõ had sent to him under the name of his daughter was not so, because she was the daughter of his grand chamberlain ; and that the tooth which he had sent him with so much ceremony was made from the tine of a stag ; that he much desired to be connected with him by marriage, and that therefore he offered him to wife a daughter of his, not a pretended but a real one ; and that he would likewise have him know that he had the real tooth of Quiay, because neither was that which Dom Constantino carried off from Jafanapataõ the real one, but that which he had, as he would prove by documents and olas[1]. The Bramá being informed of the case, having turned it over in his mind, and seeing that he had already sworn that maiden as queen, and had received the tooth with that display, and collocated it in a *varella* to itself, dissembled over the business, so as not to confess that he had been deceived, because it is as bad for kings to be deceived as for us to deceive them : and so he replied to the ambassadors that he highly esteemed the relationship that the king of Candea wished to enter into with him, and likewise the ape's tooth ; that he would do him a favour if he would send him everything, and that to bring it he would give them a very beautiful ship with very costly things for the king : and he commanded to prepare two ships, which he ordered to be laden with rice and costly stuffs, both for the king of Ceilaõ and for the king of Candea, for each one his own ; and in that of the king Dom Joaõ he commanded to embark all the Portuguese that he had as captives there, among whom was Antonio Toscano, who related these things to me many times.

These ships having reached Ceilaõ[2], that which came to anchor in the port of Candea[3] before she was discharged had her cables cut and was run ashore, where all was lost, and the ambassadors were drowned ; and it was surmised that it was by order of the king Dom Joaõ of Ceilaõ, they being deadly enemies[4] : and if such were the case, it must have been a plan

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[1] The Kandyan monarch may have been right regarding the *daḷadá* (see, however, *Maháv.* 321 and 327) ; but he seems to have been a curious Christian.

[2] In the early part of 1567, probably.

[3] By the "port of Candea" is, I think, to be understood some roadstead near Batecalou, which was the part whence intercourse with Kandy took place from outside (*cf. supra*, p. 127).

[4] Who are meant by "they" is not quite clear.

of the grand chamberlain's, since the king had not cunning for anything: whereby these matters remained without having any further result[1].

Dec. VIII., Chap. xvii.

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In September of this year 1567 the viceroy sent Lisuárte de Aragaõ de Sousa, who had been granted the Ceilaõ voyages[2], as captain of a galleon with many supplies of money, who left on the 26th of September, and returned on the 16th of March 1568.

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Dec. VIII., Chap. xxiii.

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...... And he [the viceroy] nominated Dom Fernando de Monrroy, a Castilian fidalgo, who was about to go as captain of Ceilaõ[3], to go with this succour[4], ...

Dec. VIII., Chap. xxx.

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...... and he [the viceroy[5]] gave orders to Andre da Fonseca[6] that from the revenue of the customs he should buy in Malaca a thousand *candis* of rice, as it was very cheap there,

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[1] Cesare Federici, who seems to have been in Pegu from 1567 to 1569, says nothing of the events recorded in the above two chapters: certainly a strange omission, if they actually took place. Linschoten, who, as I have said, is the earliest writer that records the capture of the tooth-relic by the Portuguese, adds to his inaccuracies by stating that it was a banian who produced the counterfeit tooth, and that the latter was bought for a large sum by the king of Vijayanagar! (Linsch. i. 294).

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 243, note [1].

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 240, note [3], and *infra*, VIII. xxxii. (p. 254). I cannot find that Dom Fernando ever became captain of Columbo.

[4] Of provisions for Malacca, in April 1568.

[5] D. Luiz de Ataide, who arrived in India 10 September 1568.

[6] Who was going to Malacca as *vedor da fazenda*.

and send it to Ceilaõ, divided amongst the ships that had to leave in January, or that he should buy a junk for that purpose: ......

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DEC. VIII., CHAP. xxxii.

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...... At the same time[1] Diogo de Mello Coutinho went to take over the captaincy of Columbo and Ceilaõ[2]. ......

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[1] The end of August 1570.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 240, note [2], and p. 253, note [3]. From a royal letter of 10 March 1598, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii., it would seem that during the captaincy of Diogo de Mello (1570–2) Dharmapála had poison given to him (by whom is not said); and fear of a repetition of this led him thereafter to bear in silence the insults and outrages of successive captains of Columbo

COUTO.

DECADE IX. (Unfinished summary.)

1571–1575 A.D.

Portuguese Governors of India.—D. Antonio de Noronha, viceroy, September 1571 to December 1573; Antonio Moniz Barreto, governor, December 1573 to September 1576; D. Diogo de Menezes, governor, September 1576 to August 1578; D. Luis de Ataide, viceroy, August 1578 to March 1581.

Siṇhalese Rulers in Ceylon.—Dharmapála *alias* Dom João Perea Pandar, 1551–97 (Columbo); Máyádunné, 1534–81(?) (Sítávaka); ———— ? (Kandy).

Tamil King in Jaffna.—Sangili.

Portuguese Captains-Major of Ceylon.—D. Antonio de Noronha, 1572–5(?); Fernão de Albuquerque, 1575–8(?); Manuel de Sousa Coutinho, 1578(?)–83.

DEC. IX., CHAP. xi.

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This armada having left, the viceroy[1] immediately dispatched another to Ceilaõ, of which he elected as captain of that fortress Dom Antonio de Noronha, who left on the 1st of May[2] with a galley, in which he went, and four foists, captain Fernaõ Dias de Oliveyra, Jeronimo Monteiro, and Antonio Machado, all of whom arrived in safety, and Dom Antonio took possession of that captaincy[3]. Of these armadas abovementioned I do not describe the successes, because there was nothing noteworthy that we can mention.

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[1] Also named D. Antonio de Noronha.

[2] 1572.

[3] In supersession of Diogo de Mello Coutinho (see *supra*, VIII. xxxii., p. 254).

DEC. IX., CHAP. xiii.

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. . . . . Having left Goa[1], the galliots could not double the point of Gále, and put in to Ceilaõ, where they wintered[2], ...

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And in like manner he [the viceroy] provided the fortresses of Canará with some captains and soldiers, and that of Columbo in Ceilaõ with two ships, in which went Francisco Gomez Leytaõ[3], field-captain[4], and Jeronimo Monteiro[5]; and with this the winter set in.

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SUPPLEMENT TO DEC. IX.

The foregoing are the only references to Ceylon in Couto's unfinished summary of his Ninth Decade, and, unfortunately, it is impossible to obtain from other sources details of the events that occurred in the island during the years 1573–81[6].

In X. IX. V. *infra* (p. 303) Couto speaks of a Portuguese who had been taken prisoner by the Sinhalese "eleven years before" 1587, *i.e.*, in 1576; but whether in an engagement with Rája Sinha's troops, I cannot say.

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[1] In May 1573.

[2] Cesare Federici had a similar experience about this time in a ship bound from Cochin to São Thomé, which, being unable to round the south of Ceylon, had to "winter" at Mannár.

[3] See *supra*, p. 225.

[4] In X. VII. xiv. (p. 276) we shall find him still occupying this position in 1586.

[5] *Cf. supra*, IX. xi. (p. 255).

[6] From a document printed in *Col. de Trat.* i. 225 ff. it seems that in 1573 Dharmapála was married in Columbo to Dona Margarida, daughter of the king of Kandy, receiving as dowry with her a renewed subjection of the Kandyan kingdom (see *infra*, pp. 258 and 261). Faria y Sousa (*Asia Port.* II. III. xviii.) complains of being unable to describe as fully as he wished the events of this period, owing to the unwillingness of those who had manuscripts to allow him the use of them. The only item of information he gives regarding Ceylon is an account (in II. III. xix.) of the attempted conversion of the "emperor of Ceylon" by the father "Fray Juan de Villa de Conde" in 1579, and the subsequent baptism of "Don Juan Parea Pandar, king of Cota,"—events which, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 172, note [4]), really took place some twenty years before.

Again in X. x. xvi. (p. 376) we read of a Portuguese force from Columbo in February 1588 landing north of Chilao and marching on Maripo, which was put to fire and sword as a punishment for the bad treatment shown by its inhabitants to the people of an armada under the command of Diogo Lopes Coutinho, that was wrecked there while going in succour to Ceylon in the time of Count D. Luiz de Ataide, *i.e.*, between 31 August 1578 and 10 March 1581. Of this event I have no details: but it is probable that the armada was going to the relief of Columbo, which was besieged by Rája Siṇha for a year and a half (1579–80) with thirty thousand soldiers, half of whom were harquebusiers, and thirteen or fourteen thousand pioneers[1]. In his Tenth Decade Couto makes several references[2] to this siege, which supply us with a few items of information regarding it; and he also tells us that the captain of Columbo at that time was Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, whose appointment to that post[3] he doubtless recorded in his lost Ninth Decade. The fortress was relieved by Mathias de Albuquerque, who, after going to the help of Malacca with a force of four hundred men, returned to Ceylon in the later part of 1580, and together with the captain of Columbo made an onslaught on Rája Siṇha's troops and utterly defeated them[4].

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[1] These details I take from a manuscript in the public library at Evora, *Vida de Mathias de Albuquerque* (pte. I., cap. ix.), to which, apparently, Faria y Sousa had access (see *Asia Port.* I., *Advertencias*, § 8); but, strangely enough, while quoting from a later portion (see p. 393, note [2], p. 394, note [2]), he passes over this part.

[2] See *infra*, pp. 293, 297, 299, 335, 354. In VII. II. iv., as we have seen, Couto makes an anticipatory reference to this siege.

[3] I cannot find when Manoel de Sousa took over the post, nor whom he succeeded. We have seen above that in May 1572 D. Antonio de Noronha became captain of Columbo; but how long he occupied that position there is nothing to show. However, as the epitaph of Fernão de Albuquerque (printed in A. C. Teixeira de Aragão's *Descripção Geral e Historia das Moedas*, &c. iii. 203–4) says that he was "captain of Seilão in the era of 1578," I think we may conclude that he held the post for the three years 1575–8. Unhappily, the royal letters to the viceroys and governors of India, from which we migh have obtained so much valuable information, have, so far as concerns those written before Philip of Spain seized the throne of Portugal in 1580, almost entirely disappeared.

[4] These facts I gain from the *Vida de Mat. de Alb.*, *u.s.* Baldæus (*Ceylon* ii.) refers to a siege of Columbo, which may be this one; but he speaks of a proposed mutiny by the Portuguese soldiers, to which I find no other reference. Perhaps this refers to a later occasion (see *infra*, p. 394).

On the 12th of August 1580 Dharmapála, *alias* Dom João Pereapandar, by a formal deed of gift donated the whole of his realms to the cardinal king Dom Henrique[1] and his successors[2] —a veritable *damnosa haereditas*, as events showed.

The condition of affairs in the Kandyan kingdom at this time also calls for notice. We have seen above that in 1573 the king of Kandy had dotated his son-in-law Dharmapála with the suzerainty of his realm, thus virtually ceding that dominion to the king of Portugal. That Rája Siṇha should acquiesce in such a transaction could not be expected: and therefore, smarting under the renewed failure to capture Columbo and his arch-enemy Dharmapála after an eighteen months' siege, he turned his attention to the ruler of the hill-country[3], and marched against Kandy with a large force[4]. This was apparently in 1580[5]. The two armies met at Balané; and the Kandyan monarch, being defeated, retired on his capital[6]. Being pursued thither by Rája Siṇha, he fled, accompanied by his family and personal attendants, and passing through Dumbara took his way in the direction of Jaffna, and settled down at Kaṭupana in the midst of the northern jungles[7]. From here his son and son-in-law proceeded to the Vaṇṇi, apparently with the object of enlisting the help of the Vaṇṇiyans in an attempt to regain the Kandyan kingdom. Both, however, died there. Finding himself

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[1] This old dotard was already dead (31 January 1580) when the deed was executed.

[2] See *Orient.* iii. 28–31, 111–3, 131–3, 193–4. In a letter to the viceroy, dated 10 March 1584, King Philip mentions having received this document with a letter from Dharmapála written in 1581 and one from Manoel de Sousa. He also asks for a deed from Dharmapála formally disinheriting his relatives, and that the people of Ceylon elect him (Philip) as their king.

[3] I am uncertain as to who the king was that was reigning in Kandy at this time. It may have been the Christian king Dom João referred to by Couto in VIII. iii. and xiii. above; but I cannot find any definite statement in the various authorities. (See footnote [1] on p. 259.)

[4] A document printed in *Col. de Trat.* i. (226) says that Dharmapála's wife Dona Margarida wished that Rája Siṇha should have to wife Dona Catharina, granddaughter of the Kandyan king; and that the failure of this proposal originated the war.

[5] The same document cited in the previous note says that Rája Siṇha had possession of the Kandyan kingdom for twelve years: therefore, since he died in 1592, the conquest must have taken place in 1580.

[6] So says the *Rájávaliya* (89), which, after a hiatus of fifteen years (see *supra*, p. 241, note [5]), here once more takes up the thread of events.

[7] *Rájávaliya* 89. I cannot locate Kaṭupana.

threatened by the king of Jaffna, the Kandyan monarch wrote for help to Dharmapála[1], who with a force of Sinhalese and Portuguese sailed for Mannár, marched on Jaffna, defeated[2] the Tamil king, and returned with the exiled king and his family and retinue to Mannár, where they were accorded suitable lodging[3]. Here we must leave them for the present.

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[1] The *Rájávaliya* (89) has "his brother-in-law Dharmapála," which, if correct, would prove that the Kandyan king was D. João (see *supra*, p. 251).

[2] The *Rájávaliya* (89) says "killed": but I doubt the correctness of this.

[3] When these later events took place, I have no means of ascertaining, the *Rájávaliya* being the sole authority for them. All that the document cited above (*Col. de Trat.* i. 226) says is, that "the said king of Candea embarked [*sic* !] for the fortress of Manar with all his royal family."

COUTO.

DECADE X.

1581–1588 A.D.

Portuguese Governors of India.—Fernão Telles de Menezes, governor, March to September 1581; D. Francisco Mascarenhas, Count of Villa da Orta, viceroy, September 1581 to November 1584; D. Duarte de Menezes, Count of Tarouca, viceroy, November 1584 to May 1588.

Siṃhalese Rulers in Ceylon.—Dharmapála *alias* Dom João Perea Pandar, 1551–97 (Columbo); Rája Siṃha I., 1581 (?)–92 (Sítávaka).

Tamil King in Jaffna.—Sangili.

Portuguese Captains-Major of Ceylon.—Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, 1578(?)–83; João Correa de Brito, 1583–90.

In this Decade Couto relates with much detail the orgy of cruelties indulged in by Rája Siṃha after the death of his father Máyádunné and his consequent accession to the throne (in 1581 ?); and then gives a very minute account of Rája Siṃha's expedition against Columbo and the great siege of 1587–8, the city being ultimately relieved and Rája Siṃha totally routed.

DEC. X., BK. I., CHAP. vii.

Of the great patrimony that King Philippe inherited in the whole of this East with all the realms of Portugal: and of the state in which the affairs of India were at this time.

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...... The celebrated island of Seilaõ, where is the fortress of Columbo, with the kingdoms of Jafanapataõ[1] (which is vassal[2]) and Cota and Candea, of which the kings

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[1] The manuscript, like the printed edition, has "Janapataõ."

[2] See *supra*, VII. IX. iii. (p. 195). Since the hurried and ignominious departure from Jaffna of the Portuguese under the viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança in 1560 Couto has told us nothing regarding that kingdom. That the "vassalage" of the king was more than nominal may well be doubted. (But see *infra*, p. 61, note [2].)

of Portugal are rightful lords by the affiliations and donations that the king Dom Joaõ of Cota and Dom Philippe of Candea made of them to them[1]; with the island and fortress of Manar, with all the fishery of seed-pearl, which yields a good sum[2]: ......

* * * * * * *

...... when the king Dom Philippe was sworn as king in these states[3], there was ...... as captain ...... of Columbo in Ceilaõ Manoel de Sousa Coutinho[4]; ......

Dec. X., Bk. i., Chap. ix.

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...... in this armada[5] there embarked many fidalgos and captains, and of those that we remember are the following: ...... Joaõ Correa de Brito[6] with that [the reversion of the captaincy of the fortress] of Columbo in Ceilaõ[7]; ...... Joaõ Correa de Brito with that of Columbo[8].

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Dec. X., Bk. ii., Chap. i.

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And leaving these matters, let us turn to the viceroy Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, who as soon as he took charge of the state began to fulfil his duties; and one of the first that he carried out was to dispatch a ship to Ceilam, on account

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[1] See *supra*, p. 256, note [6], and p. 258, and *infra*, p. 290.

[2] Mannár had superseded Kílakarai as the residence of the captain of the pearl fishery, the captain of Mannár fort holding the two offices (see *infra*, p. 269, and *cf.* Teix. 178). According to the "tractate of the Portugall Indies" by "Don Duart de Meneses the Vice-roy" (1854), printed in Purchas (ix. 164), "The rent of the Fortresse Manar, is worth 133460. Fanoes, which are 4003800. Reys, the which his Majestie hath in the said Iland, and in other Ports neighbouring there-about, and of tribute which the King of Jasanapatan, and other Lords do pay, which is 2502*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* sterling."

[3] On 3 September 1581, as described by Couto in X. i. iv.

[4] See *supra*, p. 257.

[5] Which left Lisbon 11 April 1581 for India, carrying the first viceroy appointed by Philip II., viz., D. Francisco Mascarenhas.

[6] See *supra*, p. 225.

[7] We shall find that he did not take up this post until two years after his arrival in India (see *infra*, p. 263). Meanwhile he held the office of *vedor da fazenda* at Ormuz.

[8] Both the printed edition and the manuscript have this repetition, only the latter has in the second place "Colimbo."

of that fortress's being very disorganized and lacking in everything through the late siege[1], in which he sent money and provisions[2], ...

DEC. X., BK. II., CHAP. IX.

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The viceroy having got rid of the affairs of Damaõ, on account of which all others were delayed[3], at once set about to dispatch those that had to go out and succour Ceilaõ, news having reached him afresh that Rajú was in a state of unrest, and it was suspected that he wished to try his hand again on the fortress of Columbo[4]; and because Antonio de Sousa Godinho[5] was ready to go to Pegú on matters of importance, he forthwith dispatched him with an order that he should ask Mathias de Albuquerque, captain-major of Malabar[6], for two more captains, Dom Jeronimo Dazevedo[7] and Afonso Ferreira da Silva[8], to go with him where there was that need; and that on arriving at Columbo, if it should be necessary to stay there, he was to do so; and that if affairs were quiet he should proceed to Pegú to fulfil his mission.

Antonio de Sousa having left Goa with three ships, the captains of which, besides himself, were Antonio de Faria and Joaõ de Faria, on arriving at Malabar delivered the letters that he carried to Mathias de Albuquerque, who gave him the two captains that he asked for, and went pursuing his course; and before reaching Cochim he encountered a *parão* of Malavares,

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[1] See *supra*, p. 257.

[2] The ship left Goa at the end of September or beginning of October 1581, probably.

[3] Damán was besieged by the Mogul's forces.

[4] If, as is probable, Rája Siṇha had learnt of Dharmapála's dotation of the kings of Portugal with territories of which he (Rája Siṇha) was in actual possession, it is no wonder that he should seek to get hold of and punish his complaisant relative.

[5] The manuscript omits "Godinho."

[6] Afterwards (1591–7) viceroy of India.

[7] Here appears on the scene the man who afterwards, as general of Ceylon, earned for himself eternal infamy by his cruelties to the Siṇhalese. The first mention of him by Couto is in the eighth chapter of the first book of this Decade; but it is probable that in the lost Ninth Decade there were earlier references. His brother, D. Manoel de Azevedo, is named in X II. i.

[8] We shall meet with this man again in X. x. vi. (see p. 334).

which had captured a *pangale*[1] of Christians, to which they had been giving chase at night; and they pressed them so closely, that in order to escape they were obliged to release the *pangale*, which Antonio de Sousa[2] came up to and took in tow, and brought it to Cochim. The ships in his company, which did not see him turn about, went following the stern-light all night until the morning without having sight of him[3], when they turned about for Cochim, where they found Antonio de Sousa; and after taking in water and other things they resumed their voyage; and passing Cape Comorim, they experienced already threatenings of the winter, and some of the pilots were of opinion that it was already late to attempt that gulf; but Afonso Ferreira da Silva, as one experienced in those parts and an old soldier, said, that at least they could cross over to Ceilaõ, and go to succour the fortress of the king, though it might be with difficulty: and with this resolve they all set sail against the opinion of the pilots, and so went crossing over with very big seas, and the same day the mast broke in the ship of Joaõ de Faria, whom Antonio de Sousa ordered to go along the coast to the fortress of Manar, and there provide himself with another mast, and to go and wait for him at San Thomé, which he did; the rest of the ships went crossing over in very stormy weather, and arrived at Columbo, where they were heartily welcomed, and Rajú as soon as he had news of this succour did not budge, and dispersed the troops that he had mustered, of which Joaõ Correa de Brito was soon advised, and he dispensed with the services of Antonio de Sousa; and the latter, leaving there the ships of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo and Antonio de Faria, set out along the coast as far as Manar, and from there crossed the shoals, and went on his voyage.

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DEC. X., BK. IV., CHAP. V.

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...... The ships[4] having arrived and been welcomed for the news of the king's health, the count[5] immediately dispatched Joaõ Correa de Brito to go and take over the captaincy

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[1] A small boat (see *Hob.-Job. s.vv.* "Pangara, Pangaia").

[2] The printed edition has "da Costa."

[3] By the omission of a letter (*se* being put instead of *sem*) the printed edition has reversed the sense of this clause.

[4] Of the fleet of 1583.

[5] The viceroy, D. Francisco Mascarenhas, Conde de Villa da Orta.

of Columbo, and Ceilaõ[1], of which he had the reversion[2], and he went embarked on the supply galleon[3], the captain of which was Antonio de Brito of the severed arm[4]. . . . . .

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DEC. X., BK. IV., CHAP. xii.

Of what happened to D. Jeronimo Mascarenhas on the whole voyage until he returned to India : and of what befell him in Ceilaõ : and of the assaults that Joaõ Correa de Brito ordered to be made upon the territories of Rajú[5].

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We have related above[6] how Joaõ Correa de Brito went to enter into the captaincy of Columbo, with the reversion of which he came provided from the kingdom in company with the count Dom Francisco. Having arrived at that fortress[7],

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[1] The captaincy was extended to the whole of Ceylon, to which King Philip laid claim.

[2] See *supra*, X. I. ix. (p. 261).

[3] Couto does not say when this sailed ; but it must have been at the end of September or beginning of October 1583.

[4] We shall come across this man again in X. X. viii. and ix. *infra* (pp. 343, 349).

[5] The manuscript has " Raya."

[6] See *supra*, X. IV. v.

[7] Probably in October 1583. He succeeded Manoel de Sousa Coutinho (see *supra*, X. I. vii., p. 261) ; and on 4 November both these captains were present at a ratification by Dharmapála of his donation of the kingdom of Ceylon to the kings of Portugal (see *Orient.* iii. 131–3, 193–4). Manoel de Sousa left Ceylon in November or December probably ; and in X. IV. xiii. Couto mentions him as being at Cochim with his wife and household. So highly did the viceroy appreciate Manoel de Sousa's services as captain of Columbo, that by the ships of 1584 he wrote to the king that on account of Rája Siṇha's activity he thought it would be better that Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, with the experience he had of Columbo, should continue there as captain ; but as João Correa de Brito had insisted on his right to the post he had given it to him. On 25 February 1585 King Philip wrote to the new viceroy on this subject, telling him in all such cases to do what was best for the royal service. Meanwhile, Manoel de Sousa had left India (in January 1585), by the fleet that carried the retired viceroy, in order to represent his services to the king (see Couto X. VI. iii.) ; and in February 1586, Couto tells us (X. VIII. vi.), by the *Bom Jesus* or *Carania*, there embarked for India " Manoel de Sousa Coutinho full of honours and rewards, because he carried the captaincy of Malaca, and a voyage to Japaõ, and the captaincy of Baçaim, the reversion of which had

he proceeded to carry on the war against Rajú with much vigour; and having received information that there had put in to the port of Belegaõ[1] three *paráos* of Malavares filled with many prizes that they had made that summer on the coast of Negapatam, he dispatched Ambrosio Leitaõ[2] as captain-major of four ships with orders to go and capture them in the same river[3]. These ships having set out[4], a few days afterwards there arrived D. Jeronimo Mascarenhas[5] with his armada at the port of Columbo, and Joaõ Correa de Brito begged him for some more ships to go and join Ambrosio Leitaõ, so that the *paráos* might not escape him. D. Jeronimo left him Pedro Homem Pereira[6] in his galley, and the galliot of Joaõ Rodrigues de Carvalho, and he himself departed for Goa. Joaõ Correa, in addition to these vessels, ordered others to be hired on land, although small ones, and ordered to embark in them the *araches* Manoel Pereira and Domingos Fernandes with two hundred *lascarins*, and gave instructions to Pedro Homem Pereira to enter the river of Balagaõ[7] and capture the *paráos* and burn the town.

These ships having arrived at the point of Balangale[8], they encountered Ambrosio Leitaõ; and all uniting, they went and anchored at the mouth of the river where the *paráos* were, and there they arranged that all the Portuguese should disembark at one place and the *araches* at another, in order to divert the enemy and to render their disembarkation easier: and so they

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been given to him some years before on the marriage of a daughter, and the habit of Christ with a good salary; and as was known afterwards he came in the second succession to the government of India, to which he soon succeeded by the death of the viceroy Dom Duarte, as we shall tell in its place, a thing that has happened but a few times in India." Manoel de Sousa arrived in India in September 1586; but whether he took up the captaincy of Baçaim does not appear (*cf. infra*, pp. 353, 354). His succession to the government of India Couto recorded in his Eleventh Decade, which is lost.

[1] The printed edition has "Baligão." The usual form is "Beligão."

[2] We shall meet with this man again later on (see pp. 269, 367, 384).

[3] The Polwatté-oya, which disembogues into Wẹligama bay, or the bay itself, which the Portuguese considered the mouth of the river.

[4] Apparently in January 1584 (see next note).

[5] From Malacca, whence he had sailed probably at the beginning of January 1584.

[6] This man was afterwards (1591–4) captain of Columbo (see *infra*, p. 394, note [3]).

[7] *Sic* in manuscript and printed edition.

[8] The manuscript has "Balagate"! (see *Hob.-Job.* *s.v.* "Balaghaut"). Evidently Paragala point near Mirissa is meant.

went to get ashore, and at the place where the Portuguese set foot on land they found a large body of men, who had hastened to prevent their disembarkation, with whom they engaged in a very fine and hazardous battle, because the enemy were many more and fought for the defence of their houses and goods. The *araches* with their *lascarins* disembarked at another part; and finding no defence, they went and reached a bridge that the enemy would have to pass if they went fleeing from our people, the which was on the side towards the *pagode* of Tanavaré; and in order that none might escape they destroyed it; and turning aside into some palm-groves, they burst forth upon the rear of the enemy, who were closely engaged in battle with our people, and rushing upon them with great fury and outcry they killed and laid low many, and all the rest, as they were taken by surprise, they discomfited and put to flight. Our people went following them on one side and the *araches* on the other until they drove them into the town[1], both forces causing great havoc amongst them; and in order not to have disorder, which always happens in these cases, the captains commanded to set fire to the houses, which were covered with straw and palm-leaves, which caught alight so furiously, that in a short time all was reduced to dust and ashes[2], because there were burnt many shops filled with cloth, opium, oils, butters, cinnamon, and other things that greatly augmented the fierceness of the fire, all of which was for loading for Meca, Achem, Masulipataõ[3], Pegú, and other places, this river being a great staple for all[4]. Having done this, they set fire to the ships that they found both on land and on sea, which were twenty-five small ones and a galleon that had belonged to Portuguese[5], which had gone ashore on that coast, and which was already fitted to go to Meca; only the *paráos* of the Malavares escaped, through being three leagues up the river at a part to which our people could not get[6].

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[1] Apparently Weligama.

[2] The town must have been rebuilt soon, for in X. x. xv. (p. 371) we read of its again being burnt four years later by Thomé de Sousa de Arronches.

[3] The manuscript has "Mazaruputaõ."

[4] Weligama was a considerable trading port long before the Portuguese came to the East, its bay affording safe and quiet anchorage to vessels except during the south-west monsoon (see *Maháv.* lxxv. 46).

[5] The manuscript has "had gone from Portugal." I cannot say which is the correct reading, as I have found no information regarding the wreck of this galleon.

[6] Perhaps at Denepitiya (see *infra*, p. 371). According to the *Rájávaliya* (86), a combat took place there in *circa* 1558 between the Portuguese-Kótté forces and those of Máyádunné (see *supra*, p. 205, note [1]).

There died of the enemy more than two hundred, and about a hundred Malavares. With this victory our people returned to Columbo, and Rajú was so annoyed at it that he was like to die of vexation[1]. Pedro Homem Pereira and Joaõ Rodrigues de Carvalho immediately set sail for Goa, where they arrived almost at the same time as Dom Jeronimo Mascarenhas.

Dec. X., Bk. v., Chap. ix.

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By the ships[2] that arrived at the bar of Goa the count Dom Francisco learnt that there had left the kingdom as viceroy Dom Duarte de Meneses, of whom they gave no news. And as he might be delayed, or might make landfall at Cochim, he did not like to neglect fulfilling his obligation and supplying the fortress of Ceilaõ, on which Rajú made continual war[3], and likewise the coasts of the north and south[4] with the usual fleets: wherefore he ordered to make haste with the galleon

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[1] The *Rájávaliya* (90) tells us that after Rája Siṉha had become the sole ruler over the whole of Ceylon (except the kingdom of Jaffna) "the Portuguese lived in Colombo [Koḷontoṭa] with king Dharmapála. Rája Siṉha cut off all communication with Colombo, so that no man could take there any article of merchandise. The Portuguese, however, were in the habit of going from Colombo [Koḷontoṭa] in boats [*paḍaw*], and making inroads into the villages on the coast: thus attacking from day to day different places, they making captives. Be it known that the number of men who fell on both sides on such occasions was so great that 5,000 leaves would not suffice to make a full record thereof." In the above statement are included the raids described *infra*, X. x. xiv.–xvi.

[2] The *Bom Jesus* alias *Caranja*, and the *Boa Viagem*, which reached Goa towards the end of September 1584.

[3] After the raising of the siege of Columbo in 1580, Rája Siṉha, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 258), turned his attention to the conquest of the Kandyan kingdom; and having accomplished that, he was free to prepare for another attempt on Columbo. It was not until April 1586, as we shall see, that his preparations for this expedition were completed, and he set his army in motion. But, doubtless, he had meanwhile kept the Portuguese in a state of continual disquiet with raids and forays. In a letter of 25 February 1585 to the new viceroy, King Philip expresses his uneasiness at Rája Siṉha's growing power and the cost in blood and treasure that his repeated attacks on Columbo were causing the state, urging Dom Duarte to adopt all possible measures for the destruction of this formidable enemy.

[4] Of Western India.

that was to carry the supplies to that fortress, the captain of which was Gaspar Barbosa, and dispatched it at the beginning of October with many munitions, and gave eight thousand *pardáos* in money for the pay of the soldiers and the salaries of that fortress[1] : ......

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DEC. X., BK. V., CHAP. X.

Of how the galleon that was going to Ceilaõ was lost, and the people and money were saved, and other matters.

The galleon that was going to Ceilaõ having left Goa[2] went making her voyage until she had doubled Cape Comorim, and from Tutocori went crossing over to Ceilaõ with fair weather; and being already in sight of that coast, there came down upon her a tempestuous wind, which the natives there call *cacham*, which is a north wind[3], and which is there always a cross wind; and it is so dangerous, that rarely does the ship escape that it catches at sea, the which tempest was very severe, and caught the galleon when already so near the land, that she was forced to anchor, as she had nowhither to run; and they rode upon the cable for several days, in great strait[4] and with much risk and trouble, because the storm went on increasing more every time, and the galleon with the force of

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[1] From the same royal letter cited in note [3], p. 267, it appears that the inhabitants of Columbo had written to the viceroy complaining of the conduct of the captains (no particular one named) of that fortress in (1) coining money, and (2) meddling in the affairs of the chamber (as to which body see *infra*, p. 414, note [1]). As regards (1), King Philip expressed his opinion that in a place like Columbo, with such a small number of persons capable of governing to choose from, it would be inconvenient to exempt the chamber from the jurisdiction of the captain; and in respect to (2), the king stated, on the authority of the late viceroy, that the coins used in Columbo were larins and fanams, on which the captains made a large profit, and he instructed Dom Duarte to inquire into the matter and do what was right.

[2] At the beginning of October 1584 (see *supra*, X. v. ix.).

[3] Couto seems to have here made a curious error, which he repeats in X. x. viii. (p. 346). As a fact, *cacham* = Tam. *kaccán*, "south-west wind"; though Couto's account that follows shows that this could not have been the direction of the wind that caught the galleon. (On *vara* and *cachão* see *Reb. de Cey.* i.; Rib. *Fat. Hist.* III. viii.)

[4] The printed edition has "very close in."

the gusts of wind kept breaking her cables in various places, which the mechanics as often repaired as best they could, without resting day or night, and thereupon the galleon began to drift, dragging her cables, in such fashion that they found themselves one day fifteen leagues further up, where they anchored towards Manar, and so close to the land, that they were waiting for the moment when they would have to run her aground there. The captain Gaspar Barbosa seeing himself in this peril commanded to take great care of the boat in order to save themselves in it, because all along the coast he saw the enemies anchoring, hoping every moment to get that prize into their hands. The captain of Ceilaõ was soon notified of the trouble in which the galleon was, and dispatched in great haste a light *tone* with letters to Ambrosio Leitaõ[1], who was in Manar in command of an armada of three ships, both to assist the pearl fishery and to receive and guard the ships that were to come from the opposite coast with provisions for the fortress of Columbo, ordering him to leave everything and at once go to the help of that galleon. This *tone* reached Manar very quickly, and at that message Ambrosio Leitaõ weighed anchor and went to succour the galleon, which with the storm had got so close inshore, that it was necessary to cut her masts to see if thereby she could any longer ride on her cable, because the yards and the shrouds caught the wind much: but neither did this avail, because the galleon still kept drifting towards land, all the cables being now chafed and frayed. The captain Gaspar Barbosa seeing that he was lost and without retrieve, and that he could not avoid running aground, put into the boat the money that he was carrying, and fitted it with many oars and necessary things, and by the advice of all ordered many holes to be bored in the galleon so that she might fill with water and founder, in order that she might not go ashore and the enemy get that artillery into their hands and have the benefit of the timber and nails: the which was done in great haste when they were already close in shore, and he with the Portuguese got into the boat, and waited until the ship settled down. At this time there reached them one of the ships of Ambrosio Leitaõ's company, the captain of which was one Diogo Gonsalves[2], which being very light had got in advance, and coming to the boat took in the captain with several

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[1] See *supra*, p. 265.

[2] Perhaps the same mentioned in X. ix. iv. and X. x. vii. *infra*. The manuscript here, instead of "Gonsalves," has "Frz" = Fernandez. Below, the printed edition calls him twice "Domingos Gonsalves"; while the manuscript in the first case has "Diogo Lopes," and in the second "Diogo Gonsalves."

Portuguese, and all the money, which was eighteen thousand *pardáos* of the king's ; and without waiting for Ambrosio Leitaõ he set sail for Columbo, and the boat with the rest of the people for Manar, the ship being now wholly under water ; and when this foist was making for the port of Columbo she caught sight of three ships that she thought came out from the fortress, which were those of the Malavares, which up till then had remained in safety at Brijaõ[1], and the same against which Pedro Homem Pereira[2] had gone, as we have related above[3]. Diogo Gonsalves, although not knowing who they were, turned out of their way, and sailed away again from land, and as night soon came on he passed by them, and got in to Columbo, where he learnt that the ships were those of robbers, and they all gave thanks to God for permitting them to turn aside from them so that there escaped from them that provision so necessary for that fortress, which was already in such a state for want of them that the soldiers had deserted the bastions on account of having nothing to eat, nor anything with which to cover themselves, and with this money all was remedied, and quiet was restored ; and Joaõ Correa de Brito, captain of that fortress, at once sent money to the opposite coast to procure food, which afterwards came there. Ambrosio Leitaõ soon arrived on the following day after Diogo Gonsalves, and brought a large *cafila*[4] of provisions, having passed the *paráos* without sighting them, because that same night they returned to the opposite coast : thus the country was provided and the fortress relieved from the fear in which it was.

DEC. X., BK. VII., CHAP. xiii.

Of how Rajú murdered his father Madune[5] : and of the new city that he built on the river Calane[6] : and of the siege that he began to lay to the fortress of Columbo.

Rajú having retired from the siege that he laid to Columbo, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho being captain, as was related in

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[1] This should evidently be " Beligaõ " (see p. 266).

[2] So in the manuscript. The printed edition has, through some unaccountable blunder, " Pedro Clemente de Aguiar."

[3] See *supra*, X. IV. xii. (p. 265).

[4] Convoy (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*).

[5] The printed edition has " Madunch " ; while the manuscript has the extraordinary form " Muduchan."

[6] In printed edition " Canale."

the Ninth Decade[1], considering himself greatly affronted by not capturing that fortress, as he was of an arrogant and ambitious disposition, determined to murder his father[2] and take possession of that kingdom, in order as king, and with the force that he could command, to return against that fortress and rid himself of the affront: and not wishing to go to a distance[3] on crossing the river Calane he began to found a new city, two leagues and a half from our fortress, which he finished in a short time, and gave it the name of Biagaõ[4]; and although, as captain-general of his father, he had full command, without three legitimate brothers that he had, and one of them the heir apparent[5], interfering with him in anything, nevertheless it was a great hindrance to his tyranny to have his father living: wherefore he determined to murder him in order to usurp the kingdom and get his brothers into his hands so as to make an end of them all; and concerting with some persons whom he could trust in that place, and through whom that business could be carried out, as they were in his father's house, he got them to give him poison, of which in a few days he

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[1] Couto here, it will be seen, reverts to the siege of 1579–80, to take up the thread of his narrative from that point, ignoring the incidents connected with Ceylon related by him in the first half of this Decade, though they occurred subsequent to that date. It is strange that he says nothing of Râja Siṇha's conquest of Kandy in 1580 (see *supra*, p. 258).

[2] The reasons here given for this determination seem very improbable, considering that for twenty years or more Rája Siṇha had been king *de facto*, if not *de jure* (see *supra*, p. 208, note [3]). Cesare Federici (see *supra*, p. 242, note [4]) has it, that Rája Siṇha had ousted his father against his will.

[3] What is meant is that Rája Siṇha wished to have a place nearer to Columbo than Sítávaka for his base of operations.

[4] This is certainly Biyagama in Adikari pattu, Siyanẹ kóraḷé west, north of the Kẹlani river and immediately opposite to Kaḍuvela. It is now a village of some 1,400 inhabitants. The *Rájávaliya* is strangely silent regarding the building of this "new city" by Rája Siṇha. The distance from Columbo fort given by Couto (say ten miles) is correct.

[5] This appears to be inaccurate. According to the *Rájávaliya* (82), of Máyádunné's four children, the eldest, Rajjuru Baṇḍára, died at the age of twenty, the third was a daughter who married Vídiye Rája, and the fourth was Rája Siṇha himself: so that there remained only the second, Timbiripola Adahasin, to dispute the sovranty.

died[1] at the age of eighty years[2], the divine justice permitting that he who was the murderer of his father[3] should die by the hand of his own son; and that just as he murdered his brothers, in order to take the kingdom from them[4], another should murder his sons in order to take from him his.

That insolent and arrogant Madune, who had given so much trouble to the Portuguese[5], being dead, Rajú forthwith raised his camp and went to Ceitavaca and took possession of the palace and treasure of his father; and getting his brothers into his hands he murdered them, among whom was the heir to the kingdom named Pale Pandar[6], who was commonly called

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[1] See *supra*, p. 177. The *Mahávaṉsa* (xcii. 4) says that Rája Siṉha "slew his father with his own hand." Linsch. (i. 78) records the event in the curious statement that "not long since a simple barber murthered their [the Siṉhalese] chief king," adding that the name of this "barber" was "Raju." The diarist of Spilbergen's voyage, while repudiating the idea that Rája Siṉha was "a barber's son, as some write," asserts (see *Cey. Lit. Reg.* vi. 332) that he was a bastard by a danceress, and also lays to his charge the murder of his father and "three brothers the lawful heirs." It must be remembered that Couto was in India at the time referred to, and Linschoten a few years later; and all three writers reflect what was evidently the common opinion, which the *Mahávaṉsa* substantiates. Therefore I cannot accept the arguments to the contrary brought forward by W. F. Guṇawardhana Mudaliyár, in his paper on "Rája Siṉha I." in the C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 382 ff., based as they are on the silence of such late writers as Ribeiro and Baldæus and the anticipatory statement of the *Rájávaliya* quoted by me *supra*, p. 208, note [3].

[2] Couto is the only writer that records Máyádunné's age at the time of his death; and if this "round number" be accepted as approximately correct, it would place Máyádunné's birth in *circa* 1501. This, I think, is a little too early; and perhaps the "seventy years" of the *Rájávaliya* (86) were in reality the extent of his life, and not of his reign, as erroneously stated. (Mudaliyár W. F. Guṇawardhana accepts the *Rájávaliya* statement, which would make Máyádunné's reign begin in 1511! He also, by an ingenious calculation, evolves ninety-one as the age at which the old king died, "an honoured parent and a powerful prince.") That Máyádunné died in 1581 is now generally accepted.

[3] See *supra*, V. I. v. (p. 72); *Rájávaliya* 76.

[4] There appears to be no ground for this charge. (*Cf. supra*, V. I. vi., pp. 72–3.)

[5] See *supra*, V. I. vi. *et cet. seq.*, and *cf.* p. 177.

[6] "Pale" apparently represents the second component of the name "Tim̃biripola." The latest mention of this prince by the *Rájávaliya* is in connection with an engagement between Máyádunné's troops and the Portuguese and Dharmapála's forces, in 1556 apparently (p. 85).

Beardlet[1], who was a great friend of the Portuguese[2]; and when they were dead he proclaimed himself king, and began to act the part of all tyrants, that is, to kill all whom he might fear[3], and among them a son of Tribuli Pandar's who was half brother to the king of Cota[4], to whom moreover the kingdom belonged. And after having ridded himself of all the pretenders he wished also to secure himself from the grandees: and all that might cause him the least anxiety he commanded to be put to death before him by his swordsmen, among whom was also Bicramasinga[5], upper *modeliar* and his field-marshal, who had instructed him in the military art, and from whom he had received very great services for the space of thirty years, by whose industry he had attained to the supremacy that he now held[6], satiating his cruelty with that bloody spectacle.

And because there now remained none to fear except Necherami[7], the former wife of his father, and mother of the sons whom he had killed[8], a very dignified and highly honoured lady, it being amongst them held as a baseness to kill a woman, he commanded her to be brought before him, and had her stripped until she was left in only a poor cloth, and then banished her to a mountain very far from there. This afflicted woman, going from the palace in that miserable state, having been so lately queen and lady, seeing herself now as if she were a malefactor, in garments so base and vile, complaining of her fortune, and of the cruelty that a son of her husband's, whom she had brought up as her own, had exercised towards her, and placing her hands on her face to wipe away the tears that ran down it, happened to touch her ears with them, and finding still some earrings of gold and precious stones that the

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[1] In original *Barbinhas* = "little beards." Cesare Federici mentions this man by this nickname, and speaks of him as Rája Siṇha's only brother (see *supra*, p. 242, note [4], and *cf.* p. 145, note [2]).

[2] This fact alone would account for his murder by Rája Siṇha.

[3] *Cf. infra*, X. viii. xii. (pp. 281, 283-5).

[4] This was probably Vijayapála Adahasin, Vídiye Rája's son by his second wife, a daughter of Máyádunné's (see *supra*, p. 164, note [2]).

[5] The printed edition has "Biera Matiga"; the manuscript has "Bicra Masigã."

[6] See *supra*, p. 225, note [8]. Couto is here anticipating: for it was not until some ten years later that Vikramasiṇha Mudali was poisoned by Rája Siṇha's orders (see *infra*, p. 394, note [4]).

[7] Náchchiré Hámí? Her name is not given by any other writer.

[8] This and the passages below imply that she was not his own mother: there is nothing in the *Rájávaliya* to confirm this implication.

tyrant appears not to have seen, in great haste pulled them off, and sent them to him by one of the ministers that was escorting her, telling him that there she sent him these paltry objects, which apparently he had left her through not seeing them; that he might satiate his ambition as much as he could; that moreover instead of that she would have sent him her life, if it were not tainted in her with little courage, where women like her ought to show it better; but that all the time of the life that remained to her she would spend in weeping for the death of the old king[1] her husband and lord, and in begging justice of God on such a cruel and abominable tyrant, who treated in such a manner a weak woman who had brought him up as a son, and to whom he was such through his father; and casting her eyes on the ground she went traversing that city, in which for so many years she had been so venerated a lady, in order to see nothing therein. Having been put in the place of banishment, she survived only a short time, because in the end she died of sheer grief.

Rajú seeing himself safe began to make preparations for the siege that he had determined on against the fortress of Columbo, with the determination of either dying in the attack or expelling the Portuguese from it. Of all this Joaõ Correa de Brito, captain of that fortress, was soon advised, and of how Rajú had determined on the close of the summer to let loose all his fury with the strength of Ceilaõ upon those weak walls: and as that fortress was lacking in everything he advised the viceroy in great haste, and dispatched one Tristaõ Dabreu da Silva with letters to him, in which he begged him to succour him speedily. This man embarked in a *tone*, and crossed over to the opposite coast of the Fishery, and along it proceeded to Cochim, where he found a vessel for Goa, into which he got, and reached that city at the beginning of April[2]; and the viceroy, seeing the letters, and the straits in which the fortress was, and how urgent it was for him to send it help, as he was of great courage and spirit, unmindful of how many troubles there were in other parts, and of the needs of the state, at once ordered a ship to be loaded with food and munitions, which he hired from one Domingos Daguiar, because she was at the bar ready to sail, in which he embarked Simaõ Botelho with forty soldiers; and as it might be that she could not get over to Ceilaõ[3], he ordered to be got ready two rowing vessels with

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[1] The printed edition inserts "Madunch."

[2] 1586. The murders recorded by Couto appear to have occupied Rája Siṉha several years.

[3] In case the south-west monsoon set in.

munitions and much money for the soldiers' pay and provisions for that fortress, and dispatched them in the company of that ship, and in one there went as captain the same Tristaõ Dabreu, and in the other Pedro da Costa, and so they went pursuing their voyage, to whom we shall presently return.

Dec. X., Bk. vii., Chap. xiv.

Of the events that took place in Ceilaõ until the arrival of this provision: and of the great victory that our people won over the forces of Rajú on the day of the Invention[1] of the Cross: and of a dreadful fate that befell a nephew of Rajú's.

After Joaõ Correa de Brito, captain of Ceilaõ, had dispatched Tristaõ Dabreu with the message to the viceroy, to ask for succour, fearing that it might be delayed, and being positively assured that Rajú would lay siege to him that winter, in order not to risk a disaster through want of food, he sent[2] to Cochim some persons on an errand with his credit, that they might obtain money on terms, some of his own that was there not being enough, and that they might go to the Fishery Coast and buy all the food they could, and return with it as quickly as possible. These men made such haste, that in a few days they came to Cochim, and collected a sum of money; and going back to the Fishery Coast, they left provisions that they had brought and vessels freighted to convey them, and they themselves made haste and came to Manar, whence in two *tones* they set out on the way to Ceilaõ; and having already come in sight of the fortress[3], they found themselves in the midst of many ships of Rajú's which he had sent out to intercept the provisions that he knew were expected. One of the *tones*, which was in advance, was so hard pressed by the ships, and so close under their beaks, that it thought itself lost; but a man whose name we do not know, who was of courage and resource, ordered the sailors to slacken the

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[1] The printed edition here and further on (p. 277) has "Exaltação"—an extraordinary error, since the day of the Exaltation of the Cross is 14 September, whereas, as appears, the actual day on which the victory took place was Holy Rood Day, or the day of the Invention of the Cross, that is, 3 May. In both places the manuscript has "enuençaõ." Faria y Sousa (*Asia Port.* III. i. iii.) has simply "el dia de la Cruz de Mayo"; but Stevens (who was a Catholic) expands this to "the day of the Invention of the Holy Cross in May."

[2] In March 1586, apparently.

[3] Perhaps in April 1586.

rowing until the moment when he should give them the signal to ply their oars; and to go, as if exhausted, to meet the enemy, which they did. The enemy seeing that *tone* coming thus thought that it was going to surrender to them, and ceased rowing for it to come up; but when it was alongside of them, they having stopped, as soon as it reached their beaks its oars were plied; and as it was light and swift it passed them all so quickly, that before they could turn it was already a good distance away from them, and so escaped miraculously, and proceeded to gain the fortress, and the captain, learning of the danger in which the other *tone* was, sent to its succour several foists that were in the bay filled with many men. Fernaõ Soares, who was in the other *tone*, and who was of great experience on that coast, as soon as he saw the ships of Rajú, and that they went spreading out over the sea in order to inclose him, firing many bombard shots at him to stop him, put all his strength and hope in the rowing, and tried all he could to get to windward of them, and by dint of great trouble did so, and went fleeing from them as fast as he could. Our armada, which had gone out to succour him, soon caught sight of the enemy; and seeing that on seeing them they also tried to get to windward of them, fearing that they would cut them off from the harbour bar, they turned about for it, the *tone* meanwhile getting the opportunity of retiring at its pleasure, and so was welcomed in the fortress as that which carried the greater part of the money with which provision had to be made that winter, from which the captain began to make some payments to the soldiers, and to prepare for the siege that he expected.

And as Rajú's troops had already begun to arrive, he sent out against them several *modeliares*, who always brought him some heads of the enemies; and being informed that Paliconda[1], chief *arache* of Rajú, was advancing with many men making attacks, he sent the *modeliares* Diogo da Silva[2], Manoel Pereira[3], Pedro Afonso, and others in company with Francisco Gomes Leitaõ[4], field captain, with some Portuguese to see if they

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[1] In manuscript "Paly Conde." No person with a name like this is mentioned in the *Rájávaliya*. Some form like "Pallékanda" seems intended.

[2] It appears from X. x. i. (p. 306) that this man was a Moor. He may possibly be the "Pída Silla" of the *Rájávaliya* 95, the corresponding passage in Upham's translation (315) having "Juda Silva." We shall hear a good deal of him during the siege.

[3] We have met with this man before (see *supra*, p. 265). He is there described as an árachchi (as also *infra*, p. 296).

[4] See *supra*, pp. 225, 256.

could engage with him; and in the direction of Viras[1] he sent other *lascorins* with their *araches* to lie in ambush, and from there to make any onset on the enemy. This was at the end of April; and when the 3rd of May came, the day of the Invention[2] of the Cross of Christ, after the sermon, in which the father related great marvels regarding it, our people met Paliconda, who had two thousand six hundred picked men; and attacking one another, they waged a very severe battle, in which those on our side did great wonders, and soon killed Paliconda and other *araches* and many of his men. The rest seeing that havoc and their captain dead began to retreat, leaving six hundred stretched on the field around and some prisoners, with whom our people retired; and as the day was one full of God's mercies, another body of the enemy came to fall into the hands of those that were in Veras lying in ambush; who rushing upon them made a great slaughter, and having totally defeated the enemy, they returned with some heads in token of victory, and entered the fortress simultaneously with Francisco Gomes Leitaõ and the others who also came laden with prizes. This victory was so welcome to all, that for many days the children went about the streets singing praises to the cross of Christ; and because this victory took place on a day so notable, it was ordered to have thereon every year a solemn procession. A few days later arrived the provision that the viceroy D. Duarte had sent, whereby all were relieved of the anxiety in which they were from lack of food.

Rajú felt the loss of his men greatly, and it made him hasten all the more the preparations for the siege that he intended to lay, because he hoped to take a great revenge. And as at this same time there befell a nephew of his a dreadful fate, which must not be be left unrecorded[3], it seemed to us well to give an account of it, the which was after this manner. To one of the brothers that this tyrant murdered[4] there was left a son called Reigaõ Pandar[5], who betook himself to a village

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[1] Lower down this is spelt "Veras." I do not know what place is meant, unless it be Vérahera in Salpiṭi Kóraḷé.

[2] In printed edition "Exaltation." (See p. 275, note [1].)

[3] Literally, "left in the ink-horn."

[4] See *supra*, p. 272.

[5] As has been stated above (p. 271, note [5]), the only brother that Rája Sinha had surviving in 1581, so far as is known, was Tim̃biripola Adahasin; and this Rayigam Baṇḍára must, therefore, have been his son: but the *Rájávaliya* is absolutely silent regarding any such person, nor is he mentioned elsewhere. Further on (p. 284) Couto records the murder by Rája Sinha of another of his relatives having the same name.

greatly offended at the death of his father and not a little afraid of the cruelty of his uncle. With this prince Joaõ Correa de Brito corresponded secretly, and urged him strongly to take revenge for the death of his father, offering him to this end all aid and favour, and on this he laid great stress; and said that although whilst he was there he could not bring about the death of Rajú, at least he might raise such hatreds amongst them as should disquiet them. Either Rajú came to obtain some information of this affair, or because his cruelty would not suffer him to leave alive that poor prince, desiring to extinguish everything that proceeded from the blood of the ancient kings, he sent with dissimulation to summon him, as if it were on business: but as he feared his uncle that summons did not seem to him genuine, and dissembling over his going he feigned himself ill, and so showed himself in bed to him who came to summon him. This the tyrant took as an excuse for disobedience, wherefore he dispatched some *modeliares* with many soldiers to bring him to him, because his brutality would not suffer that they should kill him there, as he wished with his own eyes to see that innocent blood poured out to slake his thirst. These men having reached that village surrounded his house, and sent word to him to get ready to go to Ceitavaca to have an interview with his uncle; and there were not wanting in the company some who told him why. The message having been delivered, he put off the *modeliares* by telling them that he was going to get ready; and retiring to a chamber, he summoned his wives and children and the rest of his household, and said to them[1]: "You see well the condition to which this cruel man has reduced all the princes of Ceilaõ, and that of all none remains but myself, wherefore he cannot desist until he has imbrued his hands in this innocent blood, because he did not even spare his own son[2]: what can be expected from him? I am of opinion that we do not give him the pleasure of seeing with his eyes that which he so desires; and that since we are all such near relatives, children and wives of this luckless Reigaõ Pandar, you agree to follow me in this, and do as I do;" and taking a cup of deadliest poison, he placed it to his mouth and drank a big draught, and so went giving it to all that were there, who one by one fell down, and in a brief space of time all had yielded their lives into the hands

[1] This imaginary speech, which Couto puts into the mouth of the hapless prince, Faria y Sousa (*Asia. Port.* III. I. iii.) expands to nearly ten times the length!

[2] I cannot explain this statement, since there is no record that Rája Siṇha had a son.

of the deadly poison. The servants seeing that pitiful spectacle made a lamentation over those bodies enough to awake the compassion even of insensate things. The *modeliares* who had come to fetch him, hearing the weeping, entered in, and found that sacrifice, which astonished them in such manner that they remained as if stupefied, and then went with those tidings to Rajú, at which he was not grieved.

This prince had many times been in readiness to come to our fortress, and regarding this Joaõ Correa had several *olas* of his, and this case gave him an opportunity to sound Rajú as to conditions of peace, because the viceroy had strongly recommended this to him, and in treating of this business he sent for the purpose one Antonio Guerreiro[1], a *casado* in Columbo, and one Duarte Ribeiro with leave from Rajú to treat with him, and by them he sent him a present of things that he thought he would value. These men had an interview with him, and concluded a truce[2], and not for a limited time, but with the condition that before Rajú broke it he should inform the captain thereof, who however well understood that he did it with ill-will, and it was all dissimulation in order during that time of truce to provide himself with many things, which were also necessary for our people, because during those days Joaõ Correa ordered to be brought into the fortress wood, straw, rushes, and other things for covering and repairing the houses for the winter season, and to strengthen the fortress as best he could for the siege that he expected, of which he advised the viceroy anew[3]: and the truce continued until it was broken, as will be told further on.

Dec. X., Bk. viii., Chap. ix.

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Having sent forth the fleets that we mentioned above, the viceroy immediately dispatched[4] a galliass for Ceilaõ, in which he ordered to be embarked eight thousand *pardáos* in money, five hundred *candís* of rice, one hundred of wheat[5],

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[1] We shall hear more of this man in connection with the defence of Columbo. He was one of those present at the execution, in August 1580, of Dharmapála's deed of gift (see the documents cited *supra*, p. 258, note [2]).

[2] This truce was concluded in 1585 (see *infra*, p. 280, note [7]).

[3] In July or August (?) 1586 (see *infra*, p. 280).

[4] In September 1586, probably.

[5] So in the manuscript. The printed edition, in place of "one hundred of" (*cento de*), has "rye" (*centeio*), an obvious error.

powder, lead, matches[1], and other necessary things, and ordered Thomé de Sousa de Arronches[2], who had come from Ceilaõ in the past April[3], to embark in order to return and serve in the post of captain-major of that coast[4]: and all these provisions the viceroy sent, because by[5] the letters that he received from Ceilaõ in August[6], in which they informed him of all that had passed with Rajú, and of the truce that had been made, which it was understood he had conceded in dissimulation in order the more at his ease to provide himself with the things that he required for the siege that he hoped to lay to that fortress, and that the truce would last only as long as he wished, although at present he was ill, and it was surmised this was from poison that his people had given him[7]. This galleon got to Columbo in a few days[8], whereby that fortress was relieved and provided. ......

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[1] I here follow the printed edition, which has *murrões*, where the manuscript reads *munições* (munitions), a tautology.

[2] It is evident, from the abrupt way in which this man is here mentioned, that Couto must have spoken of him in his lost Ninth (and perhaps Eighth) Decade. When he first came to Ceylon, and in what capacity, I do not know; but we shall find that from this date for many years afterwards he remained in the island to afflict the natives with his brutalities. His name will ever be associated with the infamy of the destruction of the famous temple at Dondra, as related further on (p. 375). From a royal *alvará* of 7 March 1595, summarized in *Arch. Port.-Or.* v. 1411 (No. 1015), it would seem that he came to India as a soldier in about 1575 (see *infra*, p. 428, note [3]).

[3] Couto does not record his departure from Ceylon, which must have taken place at or about the same time as that of Tristão de Abreu (see *supra*, p. 274).

[4] He held this post until 1595, when he was appointed captain of Columbo (see *infra*, p. 406).

[5] Apparently an error for "because of." As it stands, the sentence is incomplete.

[6] See *supra*, p. 279. How these letters were sent, is not said.

[7] This truce and the (alleged) poisoning of Rája Siṇha must have occurred in 1585 (and not in 1586, as Couto leads us to suppose), since they are mentioned in a royal letter of 10 January 1587 (in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 72) as having been reported in a letter of the viceroy's received by ships that left India in January 1586. From that letter it appears that Rája Siṇha wished to send ambassadors to the viceroy, but the captain of Columbo would not consent, the reason for which refusal the king desired to know.

[8] In September or October 1586, apparently.

Dec. X., Bk. viii., Chap. xii.

Of the pretexts that Rajú used to break the peace: and of some Chingalas that fled to our fortress: and of the great cruelties that Rajú committed upon his people: and of the mode in which Joaõ Correa de Brito fortified himself.

With the truce that Rajú made deceitfully with the captain of Columbo, he went on providing himself with many things for the great siege that he had determined to lay to that fortress; and as he was a tyrant, and had committed so great a cruelty as that which he used towards his old father, he did not fail to secure himself from the great men of the kingdom; it being the natural condition of tyrants ever to sleep uneasily: and so not only in consequence of secret reports, but even on the strength of dreams and imaginings, this tyrant ordered the murder of all those that came into his mind in whom he might find some obstacle, wherefore many were dispersed over the island, fleeing from his fury[1]. Among these were certain leading fidalgos, who betook themselves to our fortress, whom Joaõ Correa received and heartily welcomed[2]: this became known to Rajú; and displeased at this, he sent to ask them of the captain, now with politeness, then with threats and blusterings, without Joaõ Correa de Brito's yielding to him in anything, by which he considered himself affronted, and went on making more haste with the materials for the siege, of which he had collected a great quantity, and was daily expecting a ship that he had sent to the Achem to get powder, engineers, and bombardiers, for which he had sent much money[3].

Of everything that he did Joaõ Correa was soon informed: and considering the siege as determined upon, he went on repairing and fortifying as best he could, so that he should not take him unawares when he appeared with all his power

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[1] This appears to be merely a restatement of the facts recorded in X. vii. xiii. *supra*.

[2] Among these was "the son of Kiḍanpalageyi Hiddá Nayide of Héwágama," who obtained from Dharmapála "the title of Vijaya-sékara Mudali," and took an active part in the fighting (see *Rájáv.* 93). Others will be mentioned further on.

[3] "The Achem" is the king of Achin, who, with the king of Johor, was at this time besieging Malacca (see Linsch. ii. 193–4). This is the first occasion on which we hear of communications between the rulers of Ceylon and Achin. In 1603 the king of Achin sent an ambassador to the king of Kandy (see *Cey. Lit. Reg.* vi. 342, note; *Orient.* iii. 74, 89 *et seq.*), and we read of similar embassies in later years.

around the walls of that fortress[1]. And because the bastion of Saõ Joaõ was not more than a fathom above the ground from the foundations, and from it to the sea-shore a distance of one hundred and twenty paces was all level[2], he ordered at once to wall in this part, which was the most dangerous of all: and such speed was made, that in a fortnight they brought the bastion to a defensible height, for it reached to five fathoms, and they carried on the wall as far as the sea-shore, all in the fortress working at this, the monks taking no repose by day or night. All this fortification from the embrasures upwards was made of very thick mud-walls, with their battlements, and many spikes[3], and he provided the whole of it with good artillery, because that bastion on one side guards the bay, and on the other very largely commands the campaign[4]. This having been done, the captain ordered the bastion to be enclosed by a ditch, which formed a continuation of the old one, and ended in the sea, and outside the walls he ordered to be placed many beams with planks nailed on them, and all along certain small boats that are called *padas*[5] lying across, which were to serve as parapets for our people, so that from there they might prevent the elephants' coming and seizing the beams with their trunks. And the bastion of Saõ

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[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 154, note [3]. As we have seen, the walls erected in 1551 had withstood the assaults of Máyádunné and Rája Siṉha in 1563 and 1580–1; but built, as they were, of mud (*taipa*), or more probably of cabook, they must have suffered from the effects of the heavy monsoon rains, and consequently needed repairing. In several of his letters at this period King Philip impressed upon the viceroy the importance of fortifying Ceylon adequately, though, at the same time, he grudged the expense involved in the war with Rája Siṉha (see *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. *passim*).

[2] This is the first mention by Couto of any of the bastions of the fortress of Columbo (for the full list see *infra*, pp. 293–7); and, owing to the unfortunate defectiveness of his Eighth and Ninth Decades, we are ignorant of the date of their erection. (Bastions were invented by Italian engineers about the middle of the sixteenth century.) As regards the bastion of S. João (the name of which still survives in St. John's street), see C. A. S. Jl. xii. 77, 78, 81, &c.

[3] I am doubtful if this is the correct technical rendering of the original *conteiras*, which appears to mean here iron spikes fixed into the walls for the purpose of additional defence.

[4] Compare what Saar says in the passage referred to in note [2] *supra*. Couto, it will be noticed, uses the present tense: and in fact things remained pretty much the same until after the Dutch obtained possession of Columbo in 1656.

[5] See *supra*, p. 207, note [3].

Thomé[1], which was much damnified, they restored inside with a very thick wall, and at high-water mark was erected a wooden sentry-box[2], in order that under cover of the bastion of Saõ Joaõ it might defend the sea-shore. The bastion of Santo Estevaõ Joaõ Correa had already strongly fortified, because it was the most important of all, and by it are commanded the field of Saõ Thomé[3], the Quarry[4], the Plain[5], the island of Antonio de Mendoça[6], and the Calapate[7], and in one direction it flankers two bastions, and in the other four[8]. Before this the captain had made a ditch with its entrenchments and fences of thick stakes from the bend of the lake by the foot of the Quarry hill to the sea, with two gates, one towards the Quarry and the Cota side, the guarding of which he incharged to Dom Antonio *modeliar*, and the other towards the side of Matual, in which he placed Diogo da Silva *modelliar*[9], and divided between these two all the *araches* to keep watch over the *tranqueiras* outside, and those inside he intrusted to Portuguese, as we shall relate in due course[10].

Rajú continued to carry on both his preparations and his cruelties, since there did not pass a day that he did not order someone of the grandees to be put to death: and he had already

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[1] By an oversight the copyist of the manuscript has omitted all after "bastion" down to the word "bastion" before "Santo Estevaõ." This bastion of S. Thomé, which is again mentioned on p. 294 *infra*, disappeared at a later date (see the lists in C. A. S. Jl. xii. 80).

[2] In original *guarita*. The word occurs frequently further on. It seems to indicate a kind of watch-tower.

[3] So called from the church standing there, the precursor of the present St. Thomas's Church.

[4] See *supra*, p. 114, note [5]. It is evident that the places named by Couto occur in order from left to right, looking eastward. I cannot help thinking that the Quarry (*Pedreira*) was identical with Boraḷugoḍa, now called Wolvendaal Hill (see *Rájáv.* 91).

[5] Called "the plain of Boraḷugoḍa" in the *Rájávaliya* (91).

[6] Possibly represented by the present "Dhobies' Island"; but this part of Columbo has been so altered by the filling in of a branch of the lake that it is difficult to identify the positions named.

[7] This name is suspiciously like "Kollupiṭiya," but the identity is doubtful, as some spot much nearer to the Fort seems to be indicated. (But see *infra*, p. 381, note [2].)

[8] Namely, on the left, S. João and S. Thomé; and on the right, S. Sebastião, Santo Antonio, Madre de Deos, and S. Gonçalo (see *infra*, pp. 293–5).

[9] By an oversight, the printed edition omits the words from "and the other" to "*modelliar*," which the manuscript gives.

[10] See *infra*, pp. 294–6.

made such a slaughter amongst them, that there were few of whom he could be in fear; and thus he was so hated by all, that they longed for his death: and because neither by poison nor by arms could they cause it, on account of the great care that he took of himself, they introduced into his dwellings such fetishes[1], and of such power, that the tyrant began to dry up and grow lean without knowing the cause, and so came to fall helpless upon his bed. The ringleaders in this conspiracy were two of his relatives, Reigaõ Pandar[2] and Curale Petra Pandar[3], and his chief *sangatar*, that is, chief priest, like the archbishop amongst us [4] : but the devil who wove all these tissues of lies himself revealed it, whereby the relatives were forthwith put to death, and the priest stoned and cut in pieces. This made him resolve to distrust all the nobles, and he went on putting them to death under various excuses, whether they were guilty or not, so that there remained not a single person of the caste of the ancient noble Chingalas[5]. The fetishes did not cease to operate, but rather went on increasing every day, and at last he came to suspect what it was : wherefore he commanded to dismantle all his dwellings in the part that he used, in order to see if he could find the fetishes ; but nothing was discovered for all they searched, and in spite of many tortures that he inflicted on persons in order to see if they would confess anything. And being of that spirit, he did not cease his cruelty, because the devil stirred him up therein in such fashion that the tyrant gave his vassals to understand that all that he did was by order of the gods, and that his idols had counselled him ; and in order to make them believe it he invented this method[6]. He took certain persons, instructed as to what they were to do, and in great secrecy placed them in a house where he had the idols, and then commanded to summon all those whom he desired to put to death, in the presence of others whom he wished to remain as witnesses, so as to exercise authority over all, and then performed certain ceremonies before the *pagodes*, and asked them for the names of the persons that had bewitched him, and those whom he had hidden inside replied, as if they were the idols, "So-and-so,

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[1] In original *feitiços*, from which the English word is derived. Huniyam charms are doubtless meant (see C. A. S. Jl. 1865–6, pp. 68–78, 1881–2, pp. 116–24).

[2] See *supra*, p. 277, note [5].

[3] This apparently represents Kẹrawalapiṭiyé Baṅḍára, but I can find no record of such a person.

[4] See *supra*, p. 68, note [1].

[5] This is not correct, as we shall see later.

[6] Compare what follows with a similar statement on p. 292 *infra*.

So-and-so, So-and-so": and thus were named several of those that were present, whom Rajú then and there commanded to be impaled, and among them were certain priests[1], a very abominable thing amongst them and in their law. At other times he took boys of eight or nine years and instructed them very well, and pretended that the souls of those that he had commanded to be put to death had passed into them, and that they informed him of everything, the which boys the king commanded to be summoned in public, and in the name of the dead they said: "Sire, So-and-so and So-and-so ordered fetishes against you to be interred in such-and-such a place"; and as those that were named were always present, they were then and there put to death, and in these cruelities he spent the whole summer[2].

And because he knew that Joaõ Correa was fortifying himself, he sent several times to ask him why he distrusted his friendship, and wasted on those works the king's money and his own: that he need not go on with the work, as he was his friend; and at other times he sent to propose to him that he should put to death the king D. Joaõ[3], who was in the fortress, and he would give him a sum of money. To all these things Joaõ Correa always replied to him in a very polite manner, using also caution and pretences, as he likewise did; and because it was the time for the arrival of the ship that he expected from the Achem, he sent Thomé de Sousa de Arronches with the ships that were in the fortress to go and lie in wait for her, of which Rajú was presently informed, and he sent to beg him not to send out the armada: and as he understood him, he replied that he was sending it to lie in wait for some Malavares, who he was informed had left for that coast; and for the greater pretence he sent to beg him for letters for the giving of water and wood in all his ports to the ships of the armada, which he sent him with great offers, because he was hoping for the ship. Thomé de Sousa cruised about that coast looking out for her until some vessels arrived which brought the news that she had been lost on the coast of Achem without anything being saved from her, which Rajú felt extremely; but in spite

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[1] *Cf.* Bald. *Ceylon* iii.; *Rep. on Kég. Dist.* 50, 63.

[2] The hot season of 1586–7, apparently.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 254, note [2]. From a royal letter printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (119), it would appear that about this time Dharmapála was desirous of marrying a "woman native of the same island." I infer from this that Dona Margarida, daughter of the king of Kandy (see *supra*, p. 256, note [6]), was dead; and that Dharmapála married again is certain, since after his death we find his widow referred to as "Dona Izabel."

of his lacking all that he had expected by her, he determined to declare war and break the peace ; but he wished first to see if he could capture the ships that formed the armada, to which end he sent word to all the ports at which it called that they were not to supply it with water or wood, and that they were to arm some ships, in order to see if they could take them unawares in some river : the which Thomé de Sousa soon discovered, because in some ports they presently began to refuse him what he asked for, and he sent to take in water and wood by means of *almadias*[1], because he well knew the habits and nature of Rajú. And the latter, wishing to declare himself once for all, sent some *lascarins* after the manner of robbers to fall upon the poor wretches and people in the service of the fortress that were in the jungle making cinnamon[2], the which Joaõ Correa learnt of, but dissembled in order to see if Rajú would send and inform him before breaking the truce, as had been agreed to between them.

Just at this juncture[3] there fled to our fortress eight *panicaes*[4], fidalgos, all relatives, because Rajú had sent to a village[5] where they lived to summon them ; and as all now feared these summonings, they fled one night, and as they could not get to Columbo except by the great *tranqueira*[6], they reached it in the dead of night like household servants, and finding the guards asleep killed them all, and got to the other side. The captain of the *tranqueira* hastening at the uproar, and learning what had happened, feared that Rajú would order him to be

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[1] Light boats (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*).

[2] This is the first occasion on which Couto mentions the peeling of cinnamon. (*Cf. supra*, p. 242, note [4].) From a royal letter of 7 March 1589, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (217–8), it seems that the captain of Columbo was peeling cinnamon for his own profit, and the king getting nothing, though this lack is naïvely ascribed to the failure of " Raju " to pay the customary tribute. According to " Don Duart de Meneses the Vice-roy, his tractate of the Portugall Indies," &c. (1584), printed by Purchas (ix. 164), " Seylan the Madune [*sic*], doth pay every yeare for tribute to his Majestie, 300. Bares of Cynamon, containing 300. weight the Bare, which is 90000. weight, at the rate of ten Pardaos the Bare, which is 900000. Reys, and it is 562 *l.* 10 *s.* sterling."

[3] The printed edition has *confusão*, where the manuscript reads *conjunçaõ*.

[4] This is the plural of *panical*, regarding which word see *supra*, p. 69, note [1].

[5] The printed edition has " some villages," which may be the correct reading.

[6] The *tranqueira grande* was at Kaḍuvela, and is often mentioned in later times as the scene of engagements between the Siṇhalese and the Portuguese or Dutch (see *infra*, p. 397, note [2]; *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 174 ; C. A. S. Jl. xii. 103, where " great stockade " is a translation of *tranqueira grande*).

put to death for that neglect, and desiring to save himself, took his wife and children, and straightway fled to our fortress in such haste, his wife being pregnant and taken with the pains of labour, that he arrived at it simultaneously with the eight *panicaes*, whom Joaõ Correa received with much honour, and ordered that they be supplied with provisions every month[1]. These tidings having reached Rajú, he was like to die of vexation, and used every means with all those of the fortress to get them into his hands; but he was left with his grievance, and with his intention declared, and the truce broken. Joaõ Correa at once[2] informed the viceroy of everything, and assured him that the siege would not be long delayed, begging him to succour him.

Dec. X., Bk. viii., Chap. xvii.

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...... there could not be a more miserable state than this[3], having two such great responsibilities as Malaca and Ceilaõ, for during these same days[4] there had arrived the letters from Joaõ Correa de Brito, in which he begged the viceroy to succour him with men, money, and munitions[5], because there would be without doubt in the winter a severe siege[6], which gave the viceroy much anxious thought; but as he was of great

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[1] It is possible that this incident is identical with the one related in the *Rájávaliya* (93) as follows:—" Before that, two strong-bodied targe-bearers from the Maha Atapattu department at Sítávaka, who were brothers, having deserted, went to Colombo fighting their way through the Kaḍudevola post, and presented themselves before king Dharmapála. The elder of these targe-men was honoured with the title of Panikki Mudali." Here, however, only two brothers are spoken of (against Couto's eight men, all relatives), who are said to have fought their way through the *kaḍavata* (though I am doubtful of the correctness of the translation). We shall read later on of these eight men being given a position to guard in the defence of Columbo (see *infra*, p. 294).

[2] In March 1587 ?

[3] Couto has been describing how, to remedy the lack of war material, &c., the viceroy got the aldermen of Goa to go round the city borrowing from the inhabitants in order to raise the necessary funds.

[4] April 1587, probably.

[5] The printed edition has " provisions."

[6] See *supra*, X. viii. xii., at end.

spirit and courage, he was afraid of nothing, the rather with great rapidity in the whirl of the pressure in which he was with the affairs of Malaca[1] he negotiated a ship, which he ordered to be loaded with what food, munitions, and money could be spared, and wrote to the captain that he must make the best of it, because at present he could do no more, but that when he had dispatched the fleet for Malaca he would provide him better; ......

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DEC. X., BK. IX., CHAP IV.

Of the great preparations that Rajú made for attacking Columbo: and how the captain Joaõ Correa fortified himself.

Rajú having declared himself for war, and having now collected all the necessary materials, summoned all his troops, and placed the whole mass of his army in the city of Biagaõ[2] in order at once to set out on the march. Of this Joaõ Correa received information; and because the reply from Goa tarried, and he feared to find himself in a great strait, he dispatched[3] two men with letters of credit, one to go to Manar and bring all the rice he could, and the other, who was the *modeliar* Diogo da Silva, to Negapataõ. These men made such haste, that when the little ship of Domingos de Aguiar, which the viceroy sent with provisions (as has been related above[4]), arrived[5], there was already in the fortress so much rice[6], that the whole winter it sold at seven *xarafins* the *candil*, the price in Cochim being twelve, and in Coulaõ fourteen; and with the

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[1] See *supra*, p. 281, note [3].

[2] See *supra*, p. 271, note [4]. The manuscript has "Biajan."

[3] In April 1587?

[4] See *supra*, p. 274.

[5] Couto does not tell us when this ship did arrive at Columbo, unless it were in May 1586 (see p. 277 *supra*): but, if that be the case, the statement that follows is unintelligible, since the two men here spoken of seem to have gone for rice a year later. There seems to be great confusion in the order of events recorded by Couto in these chapters relating to the siege of Columbo, which I am unable to rectify.

[6] The printed edition omits this word.

money that the viceroy sent in the ship[1] a general quarter's pay was made, whereby the fortress was very well provided, excepting with men, of whom it had few. And with all these anxieties the captain did not fail to go on fortifying where it seemed to him most needed: and because the fortification that, as we have said[2], he had made from the bastion of Saõ Joaõ to the sea-shore appeared to him weak, he ordered to build a thick mud-wall two fathoms in height on the inner side, with a wooden *couraça*[3] on the sea-shore, and between it and the bastion he made a watch-tower with its balconies for those that might fight from it, and at this work even the monks of St. Francis laboured, who were always the foremost in all times of need.

Rajú forthwith took the field, and mustered all his troops and his weapons and munitions of war, and found the following[4]: fighting men fifty thousand; pioneers and servants sixty thousand; elephants, both for fighting and for service, two thousand two hundred; pieces of bronze artillery, between large and small, one hundred and fifty; oxen of burden forty thousand; axes ten thousand; alavangas three thousand; billhooks twenty thousand; pickaxes[5] (which in India are called *codelís*[6]) two thousand; mattocks six thousand; many

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[1] The money was sent by Tristão de Abreu and Pedro da Costa, who left Goa in rowing boats after the departure of Simão Botelho, and whose arrival at Columbo in May 1586 Couto records *supra*, p. 277. The reference here, however, may be to the ship mentioned in X. VIII. xvii. (p. 288); and it is possible that in the passage referred to in note [5] on p. 288 Couto has confused this ship with that of Domingos de Aguiar.

[2] See *supra*, p. 282.

[3] A breast-work (lit., a cuirass).

[4] The numbers given by Couto must, of course, be taken as approximate, founded, doubtless, chiefly on the statements of escapees and fugitives. The *Rájávaliya* gives no estimate of Rája Siṇha's forces: it simply says (90):—"After this Rája Siṇha issued pay to his troops; and being determined to expel the Portuguese of Colombo set out with a numerous army of elephants, a large force on the right and left wings, and shield-bearers of Kottan Déválé."

[5] The manuscript omits this word.

[6] The manuscript has "*codeas*." The Sanskrit word *kuddála* (spade or hoe) is found in the different Aryan dialects of India under various forms (see C. A. S. Jl. vii. 24), and in Tamil and Malayálam as *kóḍáli* (which is probably the form Couto had in his mind). In Sinhalese, through loss of the initial consonant, the word has become *udalu*, *udella*. I have translated the Portuguese *picões* by "pickaxes": but the implements may have been mamoties.

arms of all kinds in superabundance ; four hundred blacksmiths to make arrow-heads and other ironwork ; a thousand carpenters ; four hundred bombardiers, Jaos[1], Cafres, and of other nationalities, the greater part of whom were Portuguese[2] ; much timber large and small, of which he made two cars in the manner of castles, each on nine wheels as high as a man ; canes for mats[3] without number ; a great quantity of sulphur, saltpetre, and gunpowder, much lead, and balls of every kind ; and in certain ports of the island he ordered to be equipped[4] sixty-five foists and *catures*[5] and four hundred small boats for service, and all the other things that seemed to him necessary for the siege that he hoped to lay, from which he was determined not to stay his hand until he had captured the fortress. And before he moved with all this force he wished to make some sacrifices to his idols, and placate them, in order that they might give him victory over the Portuguese : and for this purpose he went to a *pagode*, and gave them gifts and offered great offerings, and sent to consult them through their priests and sorcerers, in order to know from them if he was to gain the victory in that expedition[6] ; and as the thing that the devil most thirsts for is human blood, he replied that if they wished to enter Columbo and obtain victory over the whites they must give him the blood of innocents to drink and to bathe in. Upon this reply he commanded to gather five hundred male and female children up to the age of ten years, and ordered them to be beheaded in front of the idols, and collected the blood in large cauldrons, and presented it to them, and their priests sprinkled them all with that blood. This spectacle was the most inhuman[7] and cruel that ever was witnessed, because

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[1] Javanese or Malays.

[2] A curious statement to make without comment. A large proportion of the Portuguese troops in Ceylon consisting of men who had been sent there as a punishment for a term of years,—generally three (see Pyr. ii. 143, and *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. *passim*),—it is no wonder that many of these banished men should have deserted to the enemy and become renegades (*cf. infra*, pp. 429, 433). The anonymous author of *Primor e Honra* (I. vi.) draws a harrowing picture of the miseries these men had to endure as a reward for renouncing their faith (see *supra*, p. 234, note [3]).

[3] In original *esteiras* (*cf. supra*, p. 237, note [1]). The " canes " were either rattans or bamboos ; the purpose to which the " mats " were to be put is explained further on (see p. 351).

[4] The printed edition omits this word.

[5] Light rowing boats (see *supra*, p. 148, note [6]).

[6] The manuscript omits the last three words.

[7] The manuscript omits this word.

it was carried out before the eyes of the fathers and mothers of those innocents, or martyrs of the devil, whose tears mingled with the warm blood of their children were also offered in sacrifice. This abominable superstition having been fulfilled, wishing to animate all his people for that expedition, he put into their heads that the idols had promised him that they would throw water on the bombards of the Portuguese, so that they should not take fire or do them harm, and that they had assured him of capturing Columbo on that occasion, and of putting into his hands the king Dom Joaõ who was therein[1]; and with that he ordered proclamation to be made throughout the whole army that he gave that city to all the soldiers to sack, and that he wanted nothing from it but the church plate and the artillery[2]. And in order that he might be held by his people as a saint, and that they might believe all that he said, he devised diabolical inventions, and hid persons behind the idols[3], who gave the answers that he wished, and in which they had been instructed: and with this, which those ignorant people did not understand, they held him for a saint, and worshipped him; and so far did his folly go, that he commanded many golden images to be made in his name, and ordered them to be distributed throughout all the kingdoms, and to be placed amongst the idols, that adoration should be offered to them even as to these[4].

Having done this, he began to set his troops in array, and to divide them according to their method, giving the vanguard

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[1] Poor Dharmapála's lot was anything but an enviable one: with Rája Siṉha outside seeking his life, and the captain of Columbo and other Portuguese officers bullying and defrauding him, he was truly "between the devil and the deep sea." The summary of a royal letter of 5 February 1588 (which letter is unfortunately illegible through decay), printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (127), shows that at this time Dom João was complaining to King Philip of the treatment accorded to him by João Correa de Brito and Thomé de Sousa de Arronches. It is surprising that he survived his ill-usage so many years.

[2] The manuscript omits "and the artillery," which, in fact, reads rather like an interpolation, since artillery does not come within the purview of soldiers in a sack, but would naturally become the property of the conquering monarch. The wish for the church plate (if really expressed by Rája Siṉha) was partly due to his hatred of Christianity as practised by the Portuguese.

[3] *Cf. supra*, pp. 284–5.

[4] This may or may not be true: I have no confirmation of the statement. Of course the Siṉhalese kings claimed divine honours (*cf.* C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 209, and note [253]).

to Vijacon *mudelia*[1] and Gajanaica *arache*[2], and at once began to march, and that day[3] he encamped in Maleriava[4]; and on the following he arrived at Calane[5], where he remained two days, and thence he proceeded to pitch his tent in the meadow[6] of Matugore[7], where he remained six days, during which he made a bridge over a river arm at Nacolagaõ[8], over which the whole army passed[9], and went on until he came in sight of the fortress on the 4th of June, and pitched the arrayal in the place that he selected[10], and from the fortress they saluted him with several pieces of artillery, whereby some of his men were laid low, which he took as an evil augury, and the devil showed him that he was a liar, and that he could fulfil nothing of what he had promised him, that the artillery would not take fire. Having pitched the arrayal, he at once surrounded it with a spacious ditch, and inside he fortified it with *tranqueiras*

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[1] This man is referred to further on (see p. 381), but the *Rájávaliya* mentions no mudali of that name, assigning the place of honour in the army to Vikramasiṇha Mudali (see *infra*, note [10]).

[2] This árachchi, who evidently had charge of the war elephants, is not named in the *Rájávaliya*.

[3] The date is not given, but from what follows it must have been about the 20th of May 1587.

[4] Mulleriyáwa (meaning probably Am̃batalé), about 4 miles from Biyagama *viâ* Kaḍuwela (*cf. supra*, p. 171, note [6]).

[5] Between 3 and 4 miles from Am̃batalé. At this period the town of Kelaniya was on the left (south) bank of the river.

[6] The Port. *varzea* means a level cultivated field; but Couto in all cases used the word in reference to marshy land (*cf. infra*, p. 300, note [1]).

[7] On p. 383 *infra* we have the spelling "Matacore." The place meant is not, I think, Matakkuliya, but Demaṭagoḍa, the first syllable having dropped out owing to confusion with the Portuguese preposition *de*—a not infrequent error (*cf. infra*, p. 431, note [3], and C. A. S. Jl. x. 287). Compare the statement of the *Rájávaliya* (91) that "Rája Siṇha fixed his headquarters at Demaṭagoḍawatta."

[8] There is evidently some confusion here: Demaṭagoḍa was where Rája Siṇha *ultimately* pitched his camp, and was at some distance from Nákolagama, which lay due north of it, on the south bank of the Kelani river. The "river arm" (*esteiro*) over which the bridge was thrown was doubtless one of the streams that enters the Kelani at Pass Nákolagam; but its exact position I am doubtful of. From what is said on p. 383 *infra* it must have been at some distance from the river.

[9] The manuscript omits the words from "river arm" to "passed."

[10] The *Rájávaliya* (91) says that Rája Siṇha "sent Vikramasiha Mudali in advance, and starting from Sítáwaka [? Biyagama] halted on this side of Weraḷuwetoṭa; ...... Rája Siṇha fixed his headquarters at Demaṭagoḍawatta." I cannot locate Weraḷuwetoṭa.

of two faces lined with mats, all of which was executed with great speed by means of the large *matérial* that he carried; and because during the siege in the time of Manoel de Sousa they caused him much damage on the side where the lake was by means of the castles[1] and foists that were put on it, he determined to drain it dry, both in order that they might not do him further harm from it, and that he might from that side attempt an entrance to the fortress, the walls there being weaker, and in order that his forces might be thrown against it all round, because this lake encircles more than half the city, which made it the stronger: and to this work he put his hand first of all.

Joaõ Correa was already so well prepared and fortified, that he did not worry himself about the power that he had, and had already destroyed all the gardens that were on the outside, and the wood, which was much, he had brought in, whereby the campaign lay more exposed to view; and because the island of Antonio de Mendoça[2], which is outside the walls, and which during the siege in the time of Manoel de Sousa gave much trouble in its maintenance through the number of troops that were occupied therein, and from the risk that they always ran to avoid the injuries that they had received there, and in order not to have men outside the fortress, with the approval of all he abandoned it, and ordered to cut down all the palm-trees, which would be six hundred, and brought them in for the platforms of the fortifications, and the leaves for covering the watch-towers and barracks. On the inland side the city had a circuit of one hundred and ninety-two fathoms[3], with many bastions and watch-towers, and there were not more than three hundred Portuguese, old and young, among whom were a hundred useless ones, and of native *lascarins* and servants of the Portuguese there would be about seven hundred—a very small force for the defence of so great an enclosure: and with it the captain did the best he could, and divided it up and provided the posts after this manner[4]:—

In the bastion of Saõ Joaõ, which was the most important, he placed Thomé de Sousa de Arronches; and in the *couraça*

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[1] These were doubtless similar to those made by D. Jorge Menezes Baroche as described in VII. IX. vi. (p. 207) *supra*.

[2] See *supra*, p. 283.

[3] Equivalent to about 425 yards. According to Ribeiro (see C. A. S. Jl. xii. 76), the circumvallation of the whole city occupied 1,300 paces (about 1,100 yards).

[4] *Cf. supra*, pp. 282–3. Here we get a complete list of the bastions and watch-towers in the whole circuit of the fortress, beginning at the north-east angle, proceeding southward, then along the lake westward

overlooking the sea Diogo Gonsalves, an old man and experienced in war[1]; in the watch-tower midway Diogo da Silva *mudeliar*, who had also to guard the new mud-wall[2]; Joaõ Gracia in the bastion of Saõ Thomé; Estevaõ Gomes in that of Santo Estevaõ; on the stretch of wall from this bastion to the watch-tower of Sancta Anna he placed Miguel Vas with a Portuguese and the eight Chingalas[3] that ran away from Rajú to the fortress; in the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ[4] was stationed Luis Correa da Silva; and on the stretch of wall that runs from it to Santo Antonio he placed Dom Joaõ de Austria, *mudeliar* of Candea[5], who afterwards rose and seized

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and south-westward, then by the sea northward, and finally along the bay eastward and north-eastward to the point of departure. If we only had as detailed a description of the various buildings inside the fort, we could form a very good idea of what Columbo was like at that period: unfortunately none such has come down to us; and as the earliest plan of the city that I know of, that of Pedro Barretto de Ressende (1646), has no accompanying description, we can but guess at the situation of many of the buildings mentioned by Ribeiro and other writers. It will be noticed that most of the persons named as appointed to guard the walls and bastions were natives of Ceylon.

[1] He is mentioned in VII. v. vi. as captain of the vessels guarding Goa in 1558. In X. x. vii. (p. 339) *infra* we shall hear of him in connection with a remarkable incident.

[2] See *supra*, p. 282.

[3] The eight panicals (see *supra*, p. 286).

[4] This bastion looked towards the district still known as St. Sebastian from a church that stood there in Portuguese times (see plan of Columbo in Baldæus's *Ceylon*).

[5] This casual mention of the man who afterwards became the conqueror and successor of the redoubtable "Rajú" and the bitter foe of the Portuguese seems to indicate that in some other part of his history Couto had given details showing how he came to be in Columbo at this time. We should have looked for these in the course of this Decade; but, as they do not appear therein, we can only conclude that Couto postponed them until he came to describe the events of 1588–92. Fortunately the *Rájávaliya* here comes to our aid, and tells us (90) of the treacherous murder, by command of Rája Siṇha, of Vírasundara Baṇḍára, who had raised an insurrection in the Kandyan territory, and of the consequent flight to Columbo of his son Konappu Baṇḍára accompanied by Salappu Baṇḍára, both of whom were welcomed by the Portuguese, and having married the daughters of Tammiṭarála were baptized as Christians, Konappu receiving the high-sounding name of Don John of Austria, in memory of the hero of Lepanto (see *C. Lit. Reg.* vi. 333; *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 166). When this ceremony took place, I have failed to discover. Twice subsequently in this Decade (pp. 321, 350) the mudaliyár is mentioned.

that kingdom, as we shall relate in due course[1]. In the bastion of Santo Antonio was stationed Luis da Costa, and in that of Madre de Deos[2] Estevaõ Correa, both married in the country; on the stretch of wall that runs to Saõ Gonsalo were placed Tanavíra[3] *arache* and Mattheus[4] Gonsalves *arache*[5] with their *lascarins*, whilst to Pero [6] Toscano fell the bastion of Saõ Gonsalo[7], and to Chinapuli[8] and Sebastiaõ Bayaõ[9] the stretch of wall that goes from it to Saõ Miguel, and in this bastion was stationed Domingos Marques; and on the stretch that goes from it to the bastion of Conceiçaõ the captain placed some *dorias*[10] with their *pachas*[11], who are a people base in blood but brave in warfare. In the bastion of Nossa Senhora da Conceiçaõ[12] he placed Antonio Pereira and another man married in the country; and Pedro Afonso *arache* on the stretch that runs from it to the watch-tower of Saõ Paulo and

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[1] This promise Couto fulfilled in his Eleventh Decade (*cf. infra*, XII. I. vi., p. 410), which, unhappily, has disappeared beyond hope of recovery.

[2] This bastion derived its name from a church that stood near it inside the fortress (see C. A. S. Jl. xii. 78, and plan of Columbo in Le Grand's trans. of Ribeiro).

[3] Both the manuscript and the printed edition have "Tavira"; but in X. x. ii. *infra* the name is correctly spelt in two places (pp. 310, 312).

[4] In X. x. ii., where this man is twice mentioned (pp. 310, 312) in conjunction with Tanavira, he is called "Manoel."

[5] The manuscript has "Mochoria," and the printed edition "Mocheria," which may represent "Modeliar" or "Mohotiar"; but, as he is afterwards described as an *arache*, I have substituted this word.

[6] The printed edition has "Prospero," whilst the manuscript reads "pois Pero": that the latter is the correct reading is proved by the mention of the man subsequently (p. 307), where the two versions agree in naming him "Pe(d)ro."

[7] This bastion and that of S. Miguel overlooked the lake. We are now beginning to go westward.

[8] A Tamil, judging by his name (? Chinnappuli = "little tiger"). Or perhaps Singappuliya is intended.

[9] The manuscript has the contracted form "Bastiaõ." Perhaps a son of André Bayão Mudaliyár, mentioned on p. 247 *supra* as Dharmapála's ambassador to the king of Siam in 1565. We shall hear of other members of this family, whose Sinhalese name I do not know.

[10] Sinhalese *durayá*, headman of the jaggery, &c., caste. In Valentyn (*Ceylon* 5) "dureas."

[11] See *supra*, p. 106, note [2]; p. 230.

[12] This is probably the same bastion that Saar erroneously calls "Capoccin" (see C. A. S. Jl. xii. 79).

the conduits[1]; and Gurapo[2] *arache* in the stretch that goes thence to the bastion of Saõ Paulo, and in this bastion was stationed Thomé Pires. From there to the bastion of Saõ Hieronymo[3] was stationed Sinia[4] *arache* with his *pachas*; and in the bastion Estevaõ Dias, and from it to the watch-tower of Sancta Catherina Giria[5] *arache*, and in the watch-tower Antonio Tinoco, and in that of Saõ Martinho Afonso da Silva, and from there to the watch-tower at the angle[6] Salvador Mendes[7], and in the watch-tower Silvestre Manco[8] with some native troops. In the bastion of Santiago[9], which guards the gate and plain of Mapano[10], was stationed Antonio Guerreiro[11]; and from it to the sea, comprising three curtains of mud-wall with two watch-towers, Manoel Pereira *arache*[12]. All the rest of the fortress lay upon the iron-bound coast as far as the point of Saõ Lourenço[13], where the boisterousness of the waves at that part, which was all rocks, caused great earth-shocks, whereby all there was

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[1] Portuguese *canos*. I am not certain of the exact meaning here, but there seems to be some connection with the "brook that traverses the city in the midst" (from the lake to the sea), according to Ribeiro (see C. A. S. Jl. xii. 77, and compare the maps of Columbo in Baldæus's *Ceylon* and Le Grand's trans. of Ribeiro). See *infra*, p. 300.

[2] In printed edition "Gurapu." Perhaps Kurupu is intended. In Bocarro cxi. we read of a "Corupo Modiliar," who is also referred to by Baldæus (*Ceylon* xi. and xiv.).

[3] Called by Saar "the great bastion of Hieronymus" (see C. A. S. Jl. xii. 79).

[4] I am not sure what name this represents. The manuscript has "Sinja."

[5] The printed edition has "Geria." Perhaps Kiriya is intended.

[6] Probably the angle as shown in Ressende's plan, where the wall took a sudden turn southward, and then again westward.

[7] The printed edition has "Martins." I cannot tell which is correct.

[8] The printed edition has "Manço," which means "meek, mild," while *manco* means "lame, maimed," and seems more likely to be correct. I may mention, however, that throughout the manuscript the cedilla is omitted.

[9] See C. A. S. Jl. xii. 79 and 80. (The bastion of "S. Jacob" mentioned in the footnote on the latter page is, of course, that of Santiago.)

[10] See *supra*, p. 171, note [5]. Of Mapano (better Mapané), the modern Galle Face, we shall hear more in later chapters.

[11] See *supra*, p. 279, note [1].

[12] See *supra*, p. 276, where he is called a *modeliar*.

[13] So called from the parish church standing there, probably the oldest in Columbo, erected before 1536, during the time of the first Catholic vicar (see C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 365).

stronger than all the rest[1]. From the point of Saõ Lourenço to the point of the jail[2], which is the bay where the ships lie[3], was stationed Manoel Gomes Rapouso; and from the jail to the old *couraça*[4], which is that of the bastion of Saõ Jorge[5], and from it to the new watch-tower[6], all of which was protected from the waves, he incharged to Diogo Gonsalves.

Thus with the paucity of men that there was the city was provided all round as best could be, the captain remaining apart with fifty soldiers under his command to go and help in all cases of need: and in order to obviate these he appointed three counter-rounds to make the round of the city continually, and to advise him of all that took place, and of what was needed; and because the lake was the most important thing for the defence of the city, and from it most damage could be caused to the enemy, the captain ordered to be put upon it a galliot, of which he appointed as captain Manoel Pinto, a very noble man and a worthy knight, with some companions, and a foist besides, of which the captain was Antonio Coresma, and a baloon[7], in which he placed Antonio Mialheiro. (These vessels with their falcons and bases did such damage to the enemy in the war of the time of Manoel de Sousa, that Rajú, exasperated by it, determined to drain the lake dry[8].)

And as there remained nothing to be done, he dispatched Belchior Nogueira and Gonsalo Fernandes, each in his *tone*, one to go to Goa to ask for succour, and the other to go giving information from Manar to Cochim of the strait in which that fortress was, in order that they might succour it. They set out on the 12th of July; and the day that they went out from Columbo there pursued them some vessels of Rajú's six leagues

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[1] *Cf.* C. A. S. Jl. xii. 76.

[2] The jail is shown in Ressende's plan and in that given by Le Grand in his translation of Ribeiro. It stood on the point where the brook that traversed the city debouched into the sea, on the west side of the stream.

[3] The "inner harbour" of pre-breakwater days.

[4] Perhaps the same as that described by Ribeiro as "a handsome *couraça* in front of the college of the Company," and Saar's "bastion Allegresse" (see C. A. S. Jl. xii. 77, 78).

[5] Probably Ribeiro's "bastion of the customhouse," and Saar's "small bastion by name S. Vincenz" (see C. A. S. Jl. xii. 77, 78). By a careless error the printed edition has "Sant-Iago."

[6] See *supra*, p. 283.

[7] A kind of rowing vessel (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*). In Ceylon this word is still current in the form "ballam" (from Tamil *vaḷḷam*).

[8] See *supra*, p. 293.

to sea, when they left them behind, and in two days crossed over to the other coast, and Nogueira took his way by land to Goa, and the other went giving word at all those ports of the strait in which Columbo was, upon which several persons began to negotiate with the object of succouring it[1].

DEC. X., BK. IX., CHAP. V.

Of the manner in which Rajú fortified himself, and began to drain the lake: and of some assaults that our people made upon him, in which they always did him harm.

Although Rajú was already at a *camello*[2] shot from our fortress, knowing that for the business of the lake, which was the first that he wished to begin, it was necessary for him to be nearer in order to be able to do it more safely, he commanded to be excavated under the earth very broad ways with their defences by which his people could get to the work with less risk; and besides this he ordered to cut down the jungle that reached from the ditch to the village of the *pachas* on the island that had been abandoned (and it must be understood that in all cases where "the island" is mentioned it is this of Antonio de Mendonça[3]); and behind the Quarry hill[4] were made some *tranqueiras* towards Nacolagoaõ[5], which went

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[1] The result of these men's mission Couto tells us in X. x. i. and iv. *infra* (pp. 305, 323–4, 327–8).

[2] A kind of cannon.

[3] See *supra*, p. 283, note [6], and p. 293.

[4] See *supra*, p. 283, note [4].

[5] The *Rájávaliya* says (91) :—"Vikramasiṇha Mudali pitched his camp, having erected a stockade, at Lower Boraḷugoḍa. Senarat Mudali encamped on the plain of Boraḷugoḍa." To this statement the compiler of the *Rájávaliya* or some later writer adds the comment :—"Note that *Ádirippu Palliya* stands on Boraḷugoḍa hill; and that in Lower Boraḷugoḍa lies *Santumpiṭiya*." Although the name *Ádirippu Palliya* (in Tamil *Ásaruppaḷḷi*) now denotes the Wolvendaal Church, it has really been transferred to it from the Portuguese church that stood there previously and was called Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe (after the famous church at Guadalupe in Spain), the Siṇhalese and Tamil names being evidently corruptions of the last word. (The footnote on this subject in the C. A. S. Jl. xii. 79 is incorrect.) *Santumpiṭiya* still survives in *Gentoopitty* street (an odd perversion, *santum* probably representing Port. *santão*, "religious mendicant"; while *gentoo* is Port. *gentio*, "heathen").

running eastwards down the valley, and came out on the other side in front of the bastion of Santo Estevaõ[1], where was built a fine[2] bulwark for greater defence, whereby all that part was shut in; and in the same way they proceeded with another *tranqueira* on that part of the rising ground that descends to the strait[3] that divides the island from the mainland, and they even brought it lower down, and carried it back to join the one above. And because this *tranqueira* was very near to the fortress, whilst work was being carried on at it the captain sent some *lascarins* of the country to attack it, who entered it, and with many pots of powder set fire to those that were in it, and captured one alive, with whom they returned, and with much wood that was intended for the *tranqueira*; and on most of the days they made these assaults on them, from which the *lascarins* always returned with their swords dyed and with some captives.

Rajú as soon as he was fortified below near the island forthwith took in hand to drain the lake by means of the ditch that he had made during the other siege, the excavation of which he ordered to be continued until it should enter the lake, and upon this work he put all the artisans that he had brought; and before reaching the water they came upon a layer of rock so hard that there were no pickaxes that would penetrate it: which Rajú having seen commanded to bring plenty of sour milk, which they call *dain*[4], and much vinegar, all of which was thrown on the top of it, and he then commanded to put fire on it, by which means the layer of rock was softened in such fashion that it was very easily excavated and cut. From this can be seen how great a captain was Rajú, since he was not lacking in that device, which is recorded of Hannibal in opening the roads over the Alps with vinegar and fire when he crossed into Italy. At this work the enemy continued with such activity that in less than twenty days they had carried the ditch to the lake, by means of which they began to drain it, emptying it into

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[1] It is difficult to make out from this description what direction the *tranqueiras* took. There seems to be some confusion, which I cannot resolve. The bastion of S. Estevão stood probably somewhere near the present Kayman's Gate.

[2] *Fermosa.* The printed edition has "*famosa.*"

[3] *Estreito.* The printed edition omits this essential word.

[4] "They" cannot mean the Siṃhalese, who call sour milk *di.* The form given by Couto seems to represent Hindí *dahí*, with the Portuguese nasal added. (According to Fallon's Hind.-Eng. Dict., however, the rustic Hindústání is *dahín.*)

the marshes[1]: and this went on to such an extent that soon the foists felt it, because the usual water began to fail them, wherefore they retired to the shelter of the bastions of Saõ Gonsalo and Saõ Miguel, where there was more water[2]. And such dispatch did the enemy give to this work that sufficient depth to float the galliot was entirely wanting: wherefore the captain ordered her to be stranded in the shelter of those bastions, and her captain with his soldiers took up his position at the conduits[3] to guard that passage, which was a very important one[4], the foist and the baloon remaining on the lake, there being still enough water for them to proceed below[5] the island, and so they continued until the water was all drained off.

During the whole of this time, which would be a month, there did not fail to be great and wonderful plays of bombard-shots and many assaults, in which the enemy were always wounded, principally one night when Diogo da Silva *modeliar* with his *lascarins* made an attack upon a *tranqueira* that was over against the lake, the which he entered valorously, and killed the greater part of the enemy, putting the rest to flight, whereby he had time to set fire to it, so that the whole was consumed. Rajú was already affrighted at these assaults: because when and where he least expected he found our people with an astonishing determination in his entrenchments and *tranqueiras*, cutting, throwing down, burning, and laying low everything; and what was worse, making the oracles of his idols lying ones, since never did the bombards from the fortress take fire better or do so much harm to the army as now. With the loss of this *tranqueira* that Diogo da Silva burnt Rajú was disgusted; but presently he commanded to set to work with another very strong one in front of all those that he had made, which he carried as far as the edge of the

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[1] So I translate *varzeas* (see *supra*, p. 292, note [6]), the meadows in this case being doubtless the swampy lands (Dutch *polders*) on the eastern outskirts of Columbo. The "ditch" may possibly have been the precursor of the canal that runs from St. Sebastian to Urugoḍawatta.

[2] See *supra*, p. 295, note [7].

[3] See *supra*, p. 296, note [1].

[4] The manuscript omits this clause.

[5] The manuscript reads "pass over the bank" (*passarem o banco*), which may possibly be the right reading, as we read towards the end of the chapter of the foists' being dragged by the enemy over a "ridge of sand" into deep water.

strait[1] that surrounds the island, and began to have it filled in with a view to entering it, and in both parts of the strait[1] Rajú ordered to be made two *tranqueiras* for the purpose of preventing the sallies that our people made by the gates of the bastions of Saõ Sebastiaõ and Sancto Antonio: and this work also our people attacked, and killed many of their men. And although we have said that the captain abandoned the island, yet it was not so entirely that he did not leave there some *lascarins* to guard it, who as soon as the enemy crossed the strait[1] withdrew to the fortress, and the captain commanded those two gateways[2] to be closed up with stone and lime, that he might not have to look after them, and in order not to occupy in guarding them men that he had not got, and left only the gates of Saõ Sebastiaõ[3] and Saõ Joaõ and that of Mapano And as the enemy had not made a display of all his power, he wished to do so one day, which was the 19th of July, and came out on the plain of Mapano with all the elephants in line in front, and the troops in this order: in the van his *atapato*, that is, captain of the guards[4], with six thousand picked men, three thousand matchlock men, one thousand targe-bearers, and two thousand lancers[5], who are his bodyguard, like the Janissaries of the Turk, and at one part of the plain Canahara[6], captain-general, with five thousand men, and Rajú in person with the remainder of the army extended over the Quarry, in such sort that as far as the eyes reached, in all parts, plains and hills were covered with men of arms, which glittered, elephants and many other things that threatened death to anyone that did not fear

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[1] In the manuscript *estreito* (*cf. supra*, p. 299, note [3]). The printed edition reads *esteiro*, which means an inlet, sea, or river branch or arm (*cf. supra*, p. 292, note [8]).

[2] The printed edition has "parts."

[3] There must be some error here, since we have just been told that this gate was closed up.

[4] See *supra*, p. 220, note [1].

[5] The manuscript has *calseiros*, a word having no meaning that I can find.

[6] I think there can be no doubt that this word (in the manuscript spelt "Chanaara") represents the name of Senarat Mudali (see *Rájáv.* 91), though how it came to assume this extraordinary form is not obvious. Probably the initial letter should be Ç, this having been substituted for an S; and the final t has somehow dropped out. (King Senarat, who succeeded Dom João *alias* Vimala Dharma Súrya, is called by the Portuguese writers "Enarat," which represents the alternative form "Henarat.") After "Canahara" the printed edition has the words "*que he*" (which is); but these are not in the manuscript.

it as little as the Portuguese that beheld that, they not being two hundred who had to defend themselves against that infernal force, which by such threats wished to make itself feared.

And in order to give them to understand how little they esteemed it, there sallied forth against them some captains of companies, namely, Antonio Pereira and Antonio Guerreiro with their soldiers, and with them the other[1] Chingala fidalgos of whom we have spoken above[2], who wished to demonstrate to the Portuguese their faith and love by participating on occasions when they could be of service to them, in order in part to repay them for the honours that they had accorded them on their reception : all these fell upon Rajú's vanguard, and engaged them in a considerable fight, in which our people cut them down right well, and the eight Chingalas became so intermingled with the enemy in the desire that they had to avenge themselves of Rajú, that our people thought that it was treachery, and that they were returning to their own folk : but they, giving no heed to us, went on laying many low ; and thus, supported by our men, pressed the vanguard so hard, that they made them fall back upon the body of the *atapata*, which followed after. The captain Joaõ Correa was outside in order to come to the help of his men if it were necessary ; and seeing that beginning of victory, he gave the signal to retire, which they did in safety ; and during this confusion a Portuguese, who had been a captive there eleven years[3], took the opportunity to escape to us, whom the captain warmly welcomed, because he gave him information on many very important matters.

Rajú was not very well satisfied with this show that he had made, as it cost him very dear, and he ordered the work of fortification to be continued, and they proceeded with a *tranqueira* through the middle of the island ; and along the other part, which terminates at the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ, he went on extending another stronger one. By this time the lake was drained, and the foists were stranded alongside of the bastions, the which Rajú was desirous of capturing,

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[1] Both the manuscript and the printed edition have "*outros*"; but I suspect that this is an error for *outo* or *oito* (eight), which occurs lower down.

[2] See *supra*, p. 286.

[3] He must, therefore, have been captured in 1576 : but as we have no record of this period of Ceylon history, I cannot say in what engagement he was made a prisoner. He is probably the Miguel Ferreira Baracho spoken of in X. x. vii. (p. 339) *infra*.

and for that purpose he sent out a body of men in the morning watch; and in order that they might not be noticed they drove in front some buffaloes (because these were continually accustomed to go about in the lake), and in the midst of these they arrived and threw some grapnels that they carried with thick hawsers on to the foist of Coresma, which was alongside of the bastion of Saõ Miguel, and began to haul at it in such silence that some soldiers who were on watch in the same foist did not notice it, only some lurches that the foist gave; and seeing it to be enemies, they left their beds and retired along the wall. Those on the bastion hearing the noise passed the word, upon which the captain hastened thither with the troops that he led; and asking what it was, they answered, buffaloes that were wandering about in the water; and having ordered them to look carefully, they managed to perceive the foist, which was now nearer to the island than to the bastion, where it had been; and having told the captain the truth of the matter, he ordered a postern-gate that was there to be opened, and sent out some men in the direction of Calapete[1]; and these dashing into the water fell upon the enemy, who had their grapnels on the foist, and had with them a very severe[2] fight, in which in the end they made them let go of the foist with many killed, and drove them back as far as the *tranqueiras* on the island, with much valour and honour.

Those that distinguished themselves in this affair were Antonio Colaço, Fernaõ Alvares, Diogo Galvaõ, Antonio Dias, a native of Ceilaõ, Jorge Rodrigues[3] the *Amouco*[4], and others; and with the precipitancy of their going killing the enemy they had not time to cut the hawsers, and returned leaving them hanging on the foist. The enemy took the alarm, and all those of Rajú's guard came hurrying up[5], and on their return they found themselves cut off on the Calapete side; and seeing themselves in that peril they attacked a squadron of the enemy that was nearest, and fell upon them with such fury that it was a marvel, there ensuing between them all a very severe battle. Here came to their help the

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[1] See *supra*, p. 283, note [7].

[2] The manuscript has *aspera*, while the printed edition has *crespa* (brisk).

[3] The manuscript has Gonsalves. I do not know which is right, as, though the man is mentioned again (see p. 332), it is only by his nick-name.

[4] See *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "A Muck."

[5] The printed edition has "were frightened."

father Pero Dias, a cleric, a scholarly man[1], with some companions that he brought, who got into a baloon with some fire-darts and six matchlocks, and they reached the foist, which the enemy were carrying off, and let fly at them in such manner that he set them on fire and burnt them at his will, and made them relinquish the foist; but because many came to their help, he returned, having caused great havoc among the enemy; and as the hawsers from the foist had in the other direction been attached to capstans and to many elephants, which hauled on other cables, she was carried away by force, and they made her ride over the top of a ridge of sand, and on the other side she slid into deep water, in which she floated, and so she remained in their power with a falcon and a base and the arms of the soldiers that had been on watch in her. Antonio Colaço, who was on the Calapete side surrounded by Rajú's guard, fought with his soldiers like famished lions, causing such havoc among the enemy, that with the death of many he got rid of them, and returned with all his men wounded. The captain Joaõ Correa, who was ready to hasten whereever it was necessary, seeing that in that quarter the chief force of the army was occupied, in great haste sent out the *lascarins* and *pachás*, and ordered them to attack the arrayal from the other quarter: who did this in such fashion that they killed many, and captured an elephant with which they returned to the fortress, and with several heads in their hands, so that, although the enemy had carried off the foist, and the captain considered it a disgrace, for the present it was tit for tat. In this state things remained for some days, during which there were continual assaults, from which our people returned in safety, and with their swords dyed in blood.

DEC. X., BK. x., CHAP. i.

Of what happened in Ceilaõ after the lake was drained: and of the first succour that arrived from outside: and of several assaults that our people made on the enemy: and of the preparations that were made in anticipation of the first attack that Rajú determined to make upon the fortress.

We left the fortress of Columbo with the lake drained, which was what the enemy aimed at, in order to make the assault on that fortress at all parts, it appearing to him that

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[1] The printed edition has "a good scholar." How this father came to be in Ceylon, Couto tells us in X. x. iii. (p. 313).

it could not escape him, it being very weak at the part that had been surrounded by the lake (which had made it strong); and after that they continued making slight assaults here and there, which being of no importance we pass over. And as the reply tarried to the request for succours that he had sent both to the viceroy and to Cochim[1], and the draining of the lake placed that fortress in need of more men for the defence of that part, the captain-major in great haste dispatched[2] Antonio Correa Travaços[3], magistrate of that fortress, with letters to the viceroy, to represent to him the strait in which they were, who crossed over in a *tone* to the opposite coast, and took his way by land; and because Gonsalo Fernandes and Belchior Nogueira, who had gone with the first message, gave it at Manar to Joaõ de Mello[4], captain of that fortress[5], he forthwith fitted out a galliot, in which he ordered to embark his nephew Fernaõ de Mello with forty soldiers and many munitions, who with great trouble and risk reached Columbo on the eve of St. James the apostle[6].

This succour was welcomed, as was natural, it being the first[7]; and the captain, in order to entertain them well, placed them in a part where the lake was quite dry, because of its being the most hazardous and dangerous, and in honour of the feast of St. James the apostle, and to welcome the new guests;

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[1] See *supra*, p. 297.

[2] In July 1587: therefore shortly after the departure of the previous messengers, mentioned below.

[3] Note the Antonio *da Costa* Travassos mentioned *supra*, p. 221. I do not know when he took up the post of magistrate of Columbo.

[4] João de Mello de Sampayo (see *supra*, p. 83, note [1]).

[5] From a royal letter of 12 January 1591, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (253), it seems that João de Mello had neglected to spend on the fortification of Maṇṇar a sum of money that the inhabitants had contributed for that purpose—a work which the king had ordered in several previous letters, in one of them (10 January 1587) saying that he had been informed that Rája Siṇha's vessels had many times molested it. It also appears that João de Mello had been succeeded in the post by Nuno Fernandes de Ataide (*cf. supra*, p. 227, note [1]). As Couto mentions in V. i. vii. (p. 83), João de Mello was lost at sea in the *Bom Jesus* on his voyage home in 1592 in company with the late governor of India, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho. Part of the inscribed stone that covered his wife's tomb in Maṇṇar has recently been discovered and rescued from base usage by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S. (see C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 355–8).

[6] 24 July 1587.

[7] That is, the first since the dispatch of the three messengers mentioned above.

and in order to show the enemy that they feared them little, next day, which was that of the apostle, he sent to attack the enemies' *tranqueiras* Manoel Mexia and Pero *arache* with some *lascarins*, who in the daybreak watch went and hid themselves behind some clumps of briars that were in front of the island of Antonio de Mendoça, the captain remaining in the bastion of Madre de Deus to come and help in anything that might take place: and these sallying forth from the fortress at daybreak rushed with great impetus upon the *tranqueira* that was in that part, and speedily put to flight those that were in it, remaining in possession of the *tranqueira*, which[1] in a very short space of time they entirely dismantled, because they carried with them for that purpose many hatchets; and with the greater part of the timber they returned in perfect safety.

Diogo da Silva *modeliar* was in ambush at the Quarry hill with his *lascarins*, without making any move all this time; and at the cries from the *tranqueira* many of the enemy hastened to the succour, and arrived just at the time that our people had retired, wherefore they deployed along the foot of the Quarry hill until they came to place themselves in our entrenchments. Diogo da Silva *modeliar*, who was now at their rear, rushing out of the ambuscade with loud cries, fell upon the enemy so suddenly, that they first knew of his presence by the corpses that they saw; and they soon killed many, and cut off the heads of four, elevating one upon a spear, because it was the head of a well-known *modeliar* of theirs. With this sudden onslaught the enemy were put to the rout, and our people returned in safety.

These two affairs took place in sight of Rajú, who stormed with passion, and told his people to go and bring him the head of that Moor, for so he called Diogo da Silva[2], who was soon recognized, and was much feared by all. His people seeing him so enraged, a body of them, more from shame than willingly, descended to the plain with firelock shots and flights of arrows after our people who were retiring; and as they were in the open, and the day was now clear, the artillery of the fortress made very fair play amongst them, whereby many were left stretched there. In order to detain them longer, Joaõ Correa, whilst the artillery was being reloaded, ordered a company[3] of soldiers to go out by the gate of Saõ Joaõ to engage them from a distance and

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[1] The printed edition omits the words "speedily ...... which."

[2] See *supra*, p. 276, note [2].

[3] The manuscript has *copia* (large number) instead of *companhia*.

hold them in play; but nevertheless the affair came to a hand-to-hand conflict, and there ensued a very stiff battle, in which our people wrought great havoc among the enemy. And the matter went in such fashion that Rajú beat the retreat, and contended with his men, and insulted them, and put them to shame, telling them that the Moor did more than all of them together: and so great was his passion, that he commanded to issue proclamations throughout the whole army that on the person who in that war brought him the head of the Moor Diogo da Silva he would confer honours and favours above all bestowed on those who in that expedition performed famous feats. And in order to compensate himself for that loss, he commanded to make the first[1] assault very soon with all his forces, thinking that by it he would conclude that business; and he ordered to be prepared for that purpose the things necessary, and dividing amongst his *modeliares* and *araches* the posts and bastions that each one had to attack, so that they should not embarrass one another, whereupon they all got ready with whatever seemed to them necessary for that purpose, and he also served out to the army munitions of war and materials prepared for the assault.

The captain Joaõ Correa was soon informed by spies of all that was being arranged, and of how they had determined to attack by night: wherefore he at once ordered to get ready everything necessary for the defence, and to provide the posts and bastions with powder and munitions and other military requisites, so that all might have everything at hand at that time; and because that part near the lake that was drained, at which he had placed Fernaõ de Mello, was weak, he distributed amongst the most necessitous parts the soldiers on duty on the counter-rounds, and charged upon them the guard and defence of that part. The captains of the bastions ordered many pointed stakes to be prepared, and planted them around the walls, and hung out a fine array of flags. Domingos Marques, captain of the bastion of Saõ Miguel, as soon as it was night placed around it many cressets, and Pero Toscano did the same on his bastion of Saõ Gonsalo, who, on account of its being very low, watched with all his soldiers outside, going out and entering by the embrasures, in order, when the assault should take place, to prevent them from coming to it with ladders; and the same preparations were made all round the fortress, everyone getting ready in advance whatever was necessary, since Rajú

[1] The manuscript omits "the first."

went spinning out the time in order to be able to have everything very well done. And the best and most important preparations that the captain ordered for the defence of that city were masses, orisons, litanies, and other prayers, in order to propitiate the most high God and the glorious Virgin his mother[1].

DEC. X., BK. x., CHAP. ii.

Of the very great and pertinacious assault that Rajú made upon our fortress : and of what happened therein[2].

Rajú selected for making the first assault the day most suitable for the Portuguese that could be, which was that of Our Lady of the Snows, which falls on the 4th of August, on which she was accustomed to satisfy the whole world with her favours and gifts, and on which all Christians are so devout. And the watch before daybreak having passed, Rajú began to march out of his encampments in the following order :—In front he sent many elephants of war divided into three bodies and in charge of three *modeliares*, which were to attack the bastions of Saõ Miguel, Saõ Gonsalo[3], and Saõ Francisco[4]; behind the elephants the spearmen, and then the targe-bearers, and behind these the bowmen, and behind all the whole of the musketry ; and on the lake, in parts that still contained water, he placed many *catapunes*[5], which are small boats, moored one to another, forming a large *jangada*[6] laden with men.

In this order Rajú began to move by the point of the island towards the lake, he himself remaining at the point, and commanded the captains to attack the bastions that were allotted to them : which each did in such silence, that if our people had not kept such a strict watch it may well be that they had not noticed them except in the bastion, the night being very dark ; for those that were watching saw a sort of black mass like a very dark and thick cloud, which came

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[1] This last sentence, like many similar ones in this and other Decades, is probably an interpolation by Couto's priestly brother-in-law, Fr. Adeodato da Trinidade.

[2] The printed edition makes this last word refer to the fortress, but the manuscript, with more probability, refers it to the assault.

[3] The manuscript puts this bastion last.

[4] Both the manuscript and the printed edition, here and further on, have this name, which must, however, be an error, since in the list of bastions given on pp. 293–7 *supra* no such name appears. Madre de Deos is probably intended, the Franciscan convent being apparently adjacent thereto (see *infra*, p. 408, note [2]).

[5] See *supra*, p. 228, note [1].

[6] See *supra*, p. 75, note [3].

before their sight, and in the midst of it they began to perceive the matches in such number that it looked like some great flight of those little insects that shine at night; and beating to arms they all stood with theirs in their hands, and Joaõ Correa de Brito hastened and made the round of all the bastions and posts, and found all already on the alert and full of spirit in expectation of the enemy. Having reached the bastions they began the assault with that confused multitude, according to the custom of all the Moors and heathens of this East, which is not to fight in regular squadrons and distinct ranks, nor to the sound of concerted drums and fifes, but with that barbarous multitude, who can move better to the sound of certain confused beats of certain melancholy and sad kettledrums that they use: so these with that barbarous determination arrived at the three bastions of Saõ Miguel, Saõ Gonsalo, and Saõ Francisco, against which they straightway set up many ladders, by which they began to climb, and below more than two thousand quarrymen, who had been brought for that purpose, set to work to undermine and breach the wall with great noise.

Our men, as soon as they perceived the enemy at the foot of the bastions, discharged upon them the storm of artillery and harquebusery, whereby many remained on the field without parts of their bodies, and others flew through the air in pieces; and to those that were attempting the ascent they soon showed by the blows that they gave them and by the things that they hurled upon them that that city was not to cost them as cheap as they thought. Pero Toscano, captain of the bastion of Santiago[1], who was accustomed to watch outside, received that barbarous encounter with much valour and spirit, causing great havoc among the enemy, because they went unexpectant of finding any impediment outside, nor indeed thinking that those that were inside could await their onrush: but just as they deceived themselves in their opinion, so they paid well for their arrogance, because the boldest that came near soon felt in their flesh how different was the purpose of our men.

The battle being joined, there presently began throughout the city a great hubbub of women, children, and other useless persons, who went about the streets begging for mercy: and thus all that was heard inside and outside was cries, vociferations, and the clashing of arms, by all which was created a confusion. The captain accompanied by the monks went the round of all the bastions, stopping a little in each one, seeing and providing all that was necessary, and encouraging all, and

[1] This should be Saõ Gonsalo (see *supra*, pp. 295, 307, and *infra*, p. 310).

praising them with words of gratitude, which in their case was little needed[1], because all could lend courage and spirit. And on arriving at the bastion of Saõ Gonsalo he commanded to shout to Pero Toscano, who was fighting outside, to come in, which he did in very good order through the embrasures; and some entering by them, and others fighting without retiring, and in the embrasures he left two valiant soldiers, each with his half-pike, and others with fire-lances and some matchlocks, and he with the rest of the soldiers went up on to the bastion, where he put himself on the defensive, fighting with much valour, because it was attacked by the greatest body of troops and the largest force of elephants, which on arriving at the wall strove to reach with their trunks the edges of the mud-walls in order to pull them down; but our men so annoyed them that they made them turn back with loud trumpetings and roars.

At that part which the elephants were trying to reach were the *araches* Manoel Gonsalves and Tanavira, who had a very difficult task, on account of the walls' being very low there, a part well-known to the enemy, and which they purposely came to, and they pressed the attack so fiercely there that the *lascarins*, being unable to endure that impetus, abandoned the whole and fled, leaving alone the two *araches*, who performed marvellous feats of arms. At the time that the *lascarins* fled from the post there came to it the father Pero Dias, cleric; and finding them in that terror animated and emboldened them, and made them go up, saying that the captain was just coming with succour, and he remained with them in that part, where the *araches* performed very great deeds of valour, and he helped them and animated them, making the *lascarins* fight, and from there dispatched a message to the captain of the peril in which that part was, who returned to it, and finding the *lascarins* so discouraged, he put himself amongst them, and began to fight very courageously, emboldening all, and making much of the deeds of the two *araches*, who had done marvellous things, whereby all gained fresh courage, and began to renew their strokes, hurling upon the enemy many pots of powder, with which they set many on fire and made the elephants stop.

The rumour of the peril in which that part was reached there; and Pero Francisco, captain of one of the rounds, ascending to the platforms distributed his soldiers and *lascarins* at the loopholes in the wall, whence with their matchlocks they caused great destruction among the enemy,

[1] By an oversight, the manuscript omits the words from "and encouraging" to "needed."

whereby many soldiers gaining fresh courage were now not content to fight under shelter, but astride on the walls they cast upon the enemy many deadly missiles both of iron and fire, with which they burnt a great part of the stonemasons who were undermining the wall, and made them get away in spite of themselves. But as the multitude of the enemy was so great, and for all the large number that they killed the loss was imperceptible amongst them, nor did their captains have much concern over it, but hastened to that part, and doubled the number both of those fighting and of those that had to destroy the walls, the which they recommenced to do, and the others to climb up in order to get over the wall, upon which the havoc and cries began anew: and as the captain had now left, having gone off to view the other parts, all would have been lost, although the *araches* and the father Pero Dias and other soldiers and knights did temerarious deeds, if some had not come to help, who hastened at the report that flew about of the strait in which that part was, and began to participate in its defence with great valour and energy, all of them employing their weapons and hands to such purpose to the enemy's hurt, who were climbing up the ladders, that no one missed a stroke or threw a pot of powder in vain. And the captain Joaõ Correa once more hastened to that part, because they had given him the alarm, and presenting himself in front of all, and naming himself by his name, in order to encourage our men as well as to dishearten the enemy, he began to fight very resolutely, because the affair was very hazardous, and the enemy had thrown on the top of the wall much fire in order to drive our men away. But as in these dangers what least concerns the Portuguese lovers of honour is the kind of death that may be most cruel, there forced their way to the front Fernaõ Dalvares, Pero Gonsalves Cananor, and other valorous soldiers, and in the midst of those flames with their arms in their hands did everything that can be imagined to prevent the entrance of the enemy, upon which they had put forth all their strength. The captain here performed his office very well, for he fought continuously, and took part in the greatest dangers, and at the same time provided for things that seemed to him necessary.

At the bastion of Saõ Gonsalo a similar assault was experienced, because all around it was encircled by ladders full of enemies, and the embrasures of which those in that quarter made use were attacked with much determination; and upon those that were below for its defence fell the brunt of the attacks, because the arrows and the fire that entered by them was enough to set fire to the whole city, and so they

made our men retire within, burnt and almost blinded by the smoke, because the worst danger in which they found themselves was its density, under cover of which the enemy were determined to enter the embrasures : but those inside even with those impediments defended them against them valorously, and they succeeded in cutting the spears of our men, who after having many times dipped these in the coarse blood of the enemy took to their swords, and caused amongst them another new destruction, and with them proved the strength of their valorous and valiant arms, which was afterwards seen in the terrible gashes of those that were there, the combat ending in those that lay stretched at the foot of the embrasures.

Those that were climbing up the ladders strove all they could to get to the top, without heeding those that fell down from close beside them cut to pieces, but the rather the number of those that ascended increasing, they threw on the top so much fire that the bastion became a mass of flame ; and our men drawing off a little[1] outside, a soldier, Gaspar Dias by name, who that day had done great things, seeing the fire, and that in the bastion was a quantity of powder, which they had there in case of necessity, seeing that if the fire reached it there would be an end of everything[2], determined either to die or to deliver all from that peril, and so seized a bed-cover and some mats, and with all these threw himself upon the flame, whereby he smothered it and got it under, and with the same readiness darted upon a jar of water that stood there, and poured the whole of it upon the fire, and entirely extinguished it, whereby those of the bastion were freer to defend themselves, returning to their posts, in which they did wonders. Of much value and help to our men were the many cressets that the captain of that bastion had ordered to set alight all over it, which continued to burn as long as the combat lasted, and the soldiers saw very well where it was necessary to go to help : and this was a most important work, because for very shame the *lascarins* were forced to stay at the sides, where they fought, which maybe they would not have done had it been dark, and they could have slunk away without being seen, on account of the great strait in which they many times found themselves.

The enemy went on with their perseverance, striving to enter both this bastion and also at the sides by the wall that joined on to it, at which were the *araches* Manoel Gonsalves and Tanavira ; and although they saw how well our people

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[1] The manuscript has *passo* (step) for *pouco*.

[2] The manuscript has " all would be burnt up."

defended themselves, and the havoc that was caused amongst their own, they did not desist from the attempt, but rather each time persevered the more, using every expedient to enter it, making the elephants by force of blows come up to the mud-walls with their trunks raised in order to lay hold of them: but our men with many fire-lances made them retire, discharging amongst them a large quantity of harquebusery and pots of powder, which was what our people made use of most, with which they set fire to the stonemasons who came to undermine the walls; and as the elephants were very big, and were seen very well by our people in the bright light, they did not miss one shot, and so worried them that they knew not how to act: because their *cornacas*[1], who are those that manage them, giving them blows and abusing them by the title of cowards, and our people worrying them and hurting them if they came near, they gave such loud trumpetings, that even with the city all round occupied in its defence, with cries in all parts, and with the clatter and clash of arms, and the bombard-shots, all of which made a confusion of sounds, yet they did not fail to cause terror to everyone.

And at the stretch of wall that runs from the bastion of Saõ Gonsalo to that of Saõ Miguel were fighting Chinapoli and Sebastiaõ Bayaõ, captains of certain companies, who vigorously defended that quarter, in whose company fought the Moors, natives of Ceilaõ, of whom there would be some forty villages, with as much courage and willingness as the Portuguese themselves, calling out to the enemy who came near that they would make with their spears ladders for them to ascend by. These Moors, natives of Columbo, are a sort of mixties of some that our people found there when that fortress was founded, who were allowed to remain there[2], and always served with much loyalty, upon which they greatly pride themselves, they being the only ones in India in whom we never found deceit.

Further on at the bastion of Saõ Miguel fought Antonio Dias da Lomba and Antonio Lourenço, captains of the round, with the men under their orders, both of them knights in whom the captain had much confidence. Fernaõ de Mello, who was the first that arrived in relief[3], leaving the soldiers in his quarter, with some that he picked out, went round visiting the parts where there was most danger, assisting them and helping them in every way; and coming to the bastion of

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[1] See *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Cornac."

[2] It is curious that neither Barros nor any of the other Portuguese historians mentions this fact.

[3] See *supra*, p. 305, note [7].

Saõ Miguel, having been told that it was in straits, and seeing the energy with which Domingos Marques, who was its captain, was fighting, asked him if he had need of anyone or of anything, and he replied no. He then passed on by the stretch of wall to the bastion of Conceiçaõ, the captain of which was Antonio Pereira, whom he found very well[1] supplied with munitions, his soldiers fighting in marvellous order with much courage and energy. Considering him safe, he went on to the bastion of Saõ Pedro[2], of which Thomé Pires was captain, which he found well fortified, and with him all his comrades full of courage, fighting very vigorously, being hard beset by the enemy, it being less than a hundred paces to the opposite bank, and the lake being there quite dry, at which part it was attacked very determinedly, the enemy being many times repulsed with much loss : wherefore seeing that he had nothing to do there he went round the other parts, at which he always offered and tendered his services in all the troubles that he found there.

At the bastion of Madre de Deus, in which was Estevaõ Correa, the enemy received the very greatest damage: because being over against the part by which the enemy had to go out to battle, the artillery being levelled upon it, on their making their appearance it gave them such a warm welcome, that before they knew that they were seen they felt the fury of their cannon-balls, by which many were torn to pieces, and in the assault that they made on it were greatly undeceived, since they so prevented their ascent at the cost of others, that they now attempted it with less confidence.

And although at all parts the extremity was great, yet at the bastion of Saõ Miguel it was very great, because on it were concentrated the chief forces of the enemy, with many elephants, many pots of powder and other appliances, striving to mount on the top : but being prevented from doing this with great courage, which the captain Domingos Marques showed in all these troubles and dangers, aided by the master gunner of the fortress, named Pero Gonsalves, a man famous at his business, which he carried out with great ease and fortitude, making many and very accurate shots, which caused great carnage among the enemy ; and at the greatest height of the danger, the enemy being in the act of boarding, he ran to the wall, defending it valorously, leaning with half his body out of the embrasures in order to wound and kill those that were

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[1] The printed edition has *soberbamente* (proudly), an error, apparently, for *sobreabundantemente*. The manuscript has *bem*.

[2] *Sic*, for Saõ Paulo ? (See *supra*, p. 296, and *infra*, p. 332.)

climbing up, hurling upon them many pots of powder, which he did many times with such dexterity that the enemy could never wound him, desirous as they were of avenging themselves on him for the injury they had received; and the elephants tried to throw their trunks upon the pieces of artillery in order to drag them down; but with fire-lances they likewise were repulsed. Antonio Dias da Lomba, who was fighting on the flank of this bastion, and who had charge of the powder and the pots, seeing the attack that was taking place on the bastion, and that the soldiers after their spears had broken off in the breasts of the enemies hastened to look for pots of powder, leaving their posts vacant, whereby the bastion ran risk, hastened with great promptitude, bringing baskets of them, making them stay in their places, and he on his part did nothing else but run to all of them and supply them with these, because this was not intrusted to anyone else, for fear that through panic there might happen to him some disaster, whereby the bastion might take fire, which would cause a total destruction, and in this manner he provided them all very well, and munitions were not lacking to those that asked for them.

This stress lasted at all parts nearly an hour, during which they lost many men and the confidence with which they had arrived, because each time they found our people more desperate: wherefore they were forced to retire some twenty paces away; and as they were many, and became more densely packed, our harquebusery caused amongst them such havoc that it was dreadful. Rajú, who was on the point of the island, on their bringing him word that his men had withdrawn discomfited, when he hoped that it was for him to go and enter the city, was like to die of passion; and although they told him of the great havoc that had been wrought among his people, with much anger he commanded his captains to return with all the rest of the force and attack the positions, giving the signal to all with five strokes that he ordered to be made on the kettledrums, which is what is done when it is intended to risk the whole force. The *modeliares* rushed upon the bastions with such noise, fury, and confusion, that that barbarous uproar might have put fear into anyone that had not already lost it, like our men, who were at their posts to defend them as promptly as if they were quite free from trouble. Those of the king's guard and others that were very venturesome, who had come in fresh, arriving at the walls and bastions set up a great number of ladders, by which they began to ascend, naming themselves, as if our people knew them, not understanding that the braver and more renowned they were, with all the more pleasure and

willingness would they defend their positions and act on the offensive against them ; because now the spirit of every one of them was contented only with greater dangers.

Where they attacked most and contended with most vigour was at the bastion of Saõ Gonsalo, the first that attempted to enter it being those of the king's guard, who came armed with breastplates, coats of mail, headpieces and morrions, and with many two-handed swords, with which they cleft many spears of those on the bastion, who first with these threw down many of their men, thrust through and through. The stonemasons returned to their work, and went undermining the wall, and the elephants with their trunks groped on the top of the positions, striving to get at the artillery in order to pull it down : but as it was loaded with its cartridges, being discharged amongst them it caused great destruction, and the elephants with the pain of the wounds and the reverberation of the artillery wheeled back, and trampled upon a great number of their men, upon whom there showered from all parts so many things thrown by our people to hurt them, that the whole plain below was strewn with mutilated corpses, which formed a great impediment to the living. Some of the most noted Chingalas, who wished to gain great honours in the presence of Rajú, tried hard to plant some banners that they bore on the summit of the bastion of Saõ Gonsalo, which our men prevented so much to their cost that in a confused heap with these they went whirling down below cut to pieces ; but as here was the greatest strength of Rajú's force, and most picked and fiercest, our men found themselves in very great straits.

At that time came the captain, and seeing that bastion in so great danger remained there, and sent to summon Thomé de Sousa de Arronches, who, although until now we have not spoken of him, it is not that he was idle, but rather equally with the captain he went about continually providing and reinforcing the most necessitous parts, there having been committed to him all that part from his bastion[1] as far as that of Madre de Deus, because the captain wished to discharge upon him part of the responsibilities that he took upon himself ; and as long as the combat lasted, and in fact the whole siege, he fulfilled the office not only of captain but also of valiant soldier, and of very expert bombardier, himself aiming the bombards and discharging them, and arranging many important things in the defence of that fortress. And having been given the message of the captain he incharged

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[1] S. João.

the bastion to the *modeliar* Diogo da Silva, and taking some companions with him went and took his place in the bastion of Saõ Gonsalo, where the confusion was very great, and there in a position in front performed deeds of great merit and of much harm to the enemy.

The captain seeing him there hastened to the other parts in order to see everything with his own eyes, and came to the bastion of Saõ Miguel, which was also surrounded by a fresh body of enemies, who with great emulation strove as to who should be the first to reach the top. This assault was very rigorous, and during it there took place many things, which cannot be particularized, since to any one of our men a special chapter might be devoted: because he that did least did all that could be expected from a valorous soul and of a tireless spirit: and thus all did so much, that with the death of the greater part of the enemy they made them retire, there having been as much more time in which they fought as there had been in the first assault.

Rajú, who every moment had warning of what was passing, on learning that such troops had been once more routed with much greater loss than at first, became like mad, and commanded that all should perish or they should capture Columbo for him, and once more gave the signal for battle, at which they all returned the third time with as much fear of Rajú as of our people, and so they made onset[1] on all sides with such shouts and alarms like men that were going to offer themselves to death, which they soon found from such a variety of causes that before half-an-hour they retired at a signal that Rajú commanded to make, on account of their telling him that all was at an end. Just at this time the morning dawned, which was for our people as great a joy as comes to those that in some storm thought themselves lost in the darkness of night, when the day breaks upon them clear and serene.

The enemy having retired, there still went after them an endless number of balls, which all along cut them up; and so in the whole of Rajú's arrayal there was a general lamentation for so great a loss, the sorrow and sadness on one side equalling, though with a different sentiment, the joy and gladness on the other, because in our fortress all that day there were very great festivities, which were noticed in the arrayal, and which made their sorrow all the greater, since thus do things go in the world, that the same things that give pleasure to some cause the loss of it to others: but that in which our people showed the greatest joy and transport for the victory was in

[1] The printed edition by an oversight omits the words "all . . . . onset."

the many thanks and praises that they gave to the most high God and to his mother the Virgin of the Snows, on whose day they had received such a signal mercy, those that could offering to her gifts and pilgrimages. The captain hastened to inspect the wounded, whom he ordered to be tended with great care.

DEC. X., BK. x., CHAP. iii.

Of the loss that there was on the side of the enemy : and of some succours that came from without : and of how the captain repaired the bastions and posts.

The captain was very desirous of knowing what was taking place in Rajú's camp since this combat and the number of dead, wherefore he sent out his spies, who brought him the head of a *lascarim*, and a *cornaca* alive, who was unable to give information about anything. At the same conjuncture there fled to the fortress three Chinamen who had been captives, who were wrecked in a ship, in which the father Pero Dias was also coming, which ran ashore, and the father and some others saved themselves in the boat, and the rest were made captives on land[1]. These likewise were unable to give the information that the captain desired; but afterwards there came other spies, who were able to give full particulars, and affirmed that Rajú had lost four hundred men, the very pick of the army, among whom were many *araches* and the *modeliares* of Tanavaca[2] and Cornagale[3], and more than two thousand wounded; they had also had two elephants killed and six wounded.

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[1] Couto gives no date for this wreck, and I can find no other reference to it. Presumably the ship was coming from China to India, and was wrecked on the south or west coast of Ceylon. In what capacity the three Chinamen (*homens Chinas*) were coming, does not appear.

[2] See *supra*, p. 34, note [3]. The manuscript has "Tanacaua."

[3] The printed edition has "o da Cornaria do Gale," and the manuscript the same, except that the third word reads "Carnaria." This means literally "him of the Cornaria of the Gale," which is sheer nonsense. I have therefore ventured to substitute "of Cornagale," though an objection to this is the fact that nowhere else does Couto mention Kurunẹgala by name (unless "Urunguré" in VII. III. v. be meant for this). "Cornaria" may, however, be a copyist's error for "Comarca" = district, in which case the translation would be: "and him [the *modeliar*] of the district of Gale."

Rajú, incensed at the result, determined to place the city in such straits and to weary our people in such fashion as to reduce them to desperation, and at once in great haste commanded the *tranqueiras* to be carried on to quite close to the walls of the city; and at their angles he caused to be erected some wooden bastions so high that they reached to the artillery of the bastions that looked towards that side, and proceeded with some fillings in the place occupied by the lake[1], and commanded to make a summoning of men throughout the whole island, and to bring more material, as he was determined to get close up to the walls, in order that they might be able from their entrenchments to pass to them.

The captain, who was not neglectful of the matters of his duty, ordered the bastions and other most necessary parts to be repaired; and on that of Saõ Miguel, it being lower, and the enemy having their eye upon it, he ordered to make a wooden story with the beams of thick palm-trees, and ordered the embrasures to be filled in and stopped up[2], because they were occupied by soldiers of whom he had need above; and around the story that he erected he made platforms and parapets for our men to fight more under cover; and in the story he placed some falcons and bases in order to play upon the island that had been abandoned, on which the enemy went on fortifying themselves, so that they might hinder them in that work; and as the bastion of Saõ Gonsalo was also very low, he raised the parapets, and filled it up in such manner that now it was more defensible; and from the bastion of Sancto Estevaõ as far as the watch-tower of Manoel Borges[3] he ordered to be dug on the outer side a ditch three spans in width and two fathoms in depth, so that the elephants could not come near to the wall, which was of mud.

And because word of the succours that he had sent to ask for tarried, he again dispatched[4] one Bertolameu Rodrigues with letters to the viceroy, in which he gave him news of the combat, and sent him a plan of it, with the whole army of the enemy, and the mode of his fortifications[5], so that thereby he might see the need in which Columbo was. This man

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[1] I am not sure of the exact meaning here.

[2] The printed edition omits "and stopped up."

[3] In the list of bastions and watch-towers given on p. 293–7 *supra*, this watch-tower is not mentioned; and I am uncertain regarding its position (see *infra*, p. 338, note [1]).

[4] On 15 August 1587, as is stated further on.

[5] This plan, were it still extant (which is not probable), would be of the utmost value in elucidating Couto's somewhat obscure and confused account of the siege.

crossed over to Manar in a *tone*, and thence to the coast of Negapataõ, and took his way by land to Goa, and now we shall leave him[1], to continue with Gonsalo Fernandes, who had left before him. The latter, after he had given word at Manar of the siege, and had left Fernaõ de Mello pledged to go in succour[2], crossed over to Negapataõ, where he spread the news of the strait in which Columbo was, upon which one Diogo Fernandes Pessoa, a nobleman and worthy knight, bought a galliot and paid twenty-four soldiers; and filling the ship with provisions and munitions, all with his own money, quickly set out in succour; and one Antonio de Aguiar de Vasconcellos, envious of him, since matters of this nature greatly arouse friends of honour, took a *calemute*[3], and negociated fifteen soldiers, with whom he set out soon after the other, and even overtook him on the Fishery Coast. And both putting out to sea to cross over to Columbo, there struck them a storm so severe, that they were like to have been lost, whereby Antonio[4] Fernandes Pessoa was driven to Manar, the ship being heavier; but the *calemute* of Aguiar went running on; and the soldiers many times requesting him to run to land, which he did not wish to do, telling them that he had not set out in succour for the fortress of the king to be stopped from reaching it by any inconvenience: that he would get there or die in the attempt; and that they could not wish for a more glorious death or a more honoured life; and so he went passing through that tempest awash and submerged many times, without being put in fear by the danger in which he saw himself so many times; and God favouring such noble thoughts, he reached Columbo on the same day that Bertolameu Rodrigues left, which was the 15th of August, the day of the glorious assumption of our Lady the Virgin. The captain and all the people hastened to the shore to welcome this succour: because it is very natural in all sieges for them to think that in everything that comes to them from without comes their salvation; and Antonio de Aguiar disembarking, the captain took him and stationed him on a stretch of wall that abuts on the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ, it being a very perilous and hazardous place, the which he began to govern and to garrison and fortify very well.

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[1] His arrival at Goa is recorded by Couto in chap. x. *infra* (p. 353).

[2] See *supra*, p. 305

[3] What kind of vessel this was, I do not know. The word occurs again in X. x. viii. (p. 344) *infra*; see also Boc. 101.

[4] Both the manuscript and the printed edition read thus, though above they have "Diogo," as also in chapter xi. (p. 357) *infra*.

Of this succour, and of the departure of Bertolameu Rodrigues, Rajú was soon informed; and as our people in the meantime were negligent, he determined to keep them in play with figments, and to make a show of not continuing the siege: so he commanded to shout to those on the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ to tell the captain on behalf of Rajú to send him there Jeronymo[1] Bayaõ, or some other person of respectability, because he wished to discuss with him matters of importance to him the captain. The latter having received the message, and at once understanding his designs, ordered those on the bastion to tell him to do that for which he came, and to go forward with his works, and that if he wanted any help in them he would give it to him; and that it would be good to fortify himself well, as he would be with him there very speedily: and so the matter stood, without any more being said. This was the same day on which Aguiar arrived, and on the next Rajú ordered his troops out upon the field, and from our fortress there sallied forth against them some who engaged them; and although they had a skirmish that lasted a good while, yet it was not sanguinary: and after this manner there were others almost every day.

Rajú went carrying on his *tranqueiras* until he had placed himself thirty paces from the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ, commanding the works to be carried still further forward; against which the captain ordered to go out the *modeliar* of Candea Dom Joaõ de Austria, captain of the native troops[2], and the *arache* Pedro[3] Afonso with his *lascarins*, and some Portuguese with them, in order to go and dismantle that work, so that it might not be carried forward. This company sallied forth from the fortress in the daylight watch, and fell upon the work in dead silence, the Portuguese going in front, who attacked the *tranqueiras*; and throwing into it many pots of powder, they entered after them, and had with those that guarded it, who were many picked men, a great battle; and whilst it lasted the *lascarins* occupied themselves in demolishing the *tranqueira* by force, as they had been ordered, and others in carrying the wood to the fortress, the Portuguese maintaining the battle inside the bastion; and they fought so stubbornly that with the death of many they drove them all out; and having demolished the *tranqueira* entirely, our people retired in perfect safety, having lost only one, although some returned wounded, but all the rest laden with arms and spoils of the enemy, of whom thirty were killed.

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[1] The manuscript has in error "Joaõ." *Cf.* pp. 358, 363 *infra.*

[2] In the previous passage where he is mentioned (p. 294) we are not told of his holding this command.

[3] The manuscript has "Dom" for "Pedro."

There signalized himself in this assault a soldier, Joseph Fernandes by name, who with a fire-lance was the foremost that entered the *tranqueira* and made a way for the rest; and after the lance was exhausted he attacked the enemy with his arms, because he was very strong; and when he got hold of one he threw him behind to his comrades, who killed him, and thus he did to many. And whilst about this he received eight wounds, one of them mortal; and having retired from there, after getting outside he missed his hat and a handkerchief with nine budgrooks[1] tied up in it, which appears to have been his whole capital, which he had left in the *tranqueira*, and wished to return to seek it; but could not because he was streaming with blood all over. This was a deed from which he should have been given for each budgrook many cruzados; but he was left without these and without the budgrooks; and if he lived afterwards (which we do not know[2]), peradventure he may have died of hunger, and his name would never have been known; but it must be placed in this writing, and also all the rest of this nature, albeit the favours of time should deny them the reward of their merits. And peradventure that by the neglect of some, if a small deed of this sort had been performed by some relative or connection, it would have been necessary to extol it with signal favours, which at last have an eternal limit with life; but these who are thus forgotten and despised by the world, in which such famous deeds have become blotted out for lack of favours, these shall never be so in my writing, without being given the limited reward, but a fame without end, and which will endure as long as the world shall be.

And returning to our subject, Rajú was exceedingly incensed at this success, and did not fail to seek for every method and stratagem in order to obtain his revenge, and to see if he could not get the fortress into his hands, and commanded at once to excavate a mine from his *tranqueira* to the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ, of the depth of a fathom; and in carrying it forward they came upon two ponds of water that were on each side, wherefore he brought it out above the ground twenty paces from the bastion, where he built another *tranqueira* of wood very strong and with fillings, the structure of which was below the mines, on account of the artillery, that it should do no harm to his fortress[3].

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[1] A coin of low value (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*).

[2] A curious statement, after informing us that he was mortally wounded!

[3] The description is not very intelligible. We shall return to this mine in chap. vii. *infra* (p. 336).

Dec. X., Bk. x., Chap. iv.

Of how the city of Cochim sent an armada in succour to Ceilaõ: and of how Rajú took in hand to attack the fortress by sea and by land: and of what took place besides.

So much haste did Belchior Nogueira make, who left for Goa with word of the siege[1], that in a few days he arrived[2] at the city of Cochim, and gave the letters that he bore from Joaõ Correa to Dom Estevaõ de Meneses, captain of that fortress, and others to the aldermen, in which he begged them to succour him, because he was in the last extremity, and that this might be as speedily as possible, as the enemy had come with the whole power of the island of Ceilaõ against that fortress, in which there were not three hundred men[3]. Seeing this necessity, the captain met in chamber with the aldermen and principal inhabitants, who discussed this matter: and as that city was accustomed, with great zeal for the service of the king, to help in similar needs, without sparing expenses or risks to their persons, it was at once resolved to negotiate six ships filled with men and munitions, the expenses of which were to be met from the sum of one per cent which was set aside for the works and fortification of that city[4], as it could be spent on nothing better or of more importance. And forthwith they commenced to set the ships afloat and to pay the soldiers; and as there had arrived at that port during that time Nuno Alvares Datouguia in a galliot that came from Coulaõ, where it wintered by command of the viceroy, they intrusted to him this expedition, which he accepted with much pleasure, and immediately began to embark, and in five days sailed[5] across the bar with six ships, in which he carried one hundred and eighty hired soldiers, and the ships armed for three months with many munitions: besides Nuno Alvares Datouguia there went Adriaõ Nunes

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[1] See *supra*, pp. 297-8, 305.

[2] Soon after the middle of July 1587.

[3] See *supra*, p. 293. The manuscript here has "thirty" instead of "three hundred."

[4] The one per cent. was levied on the customs. Goa had a similar levy; and it appears from correspondence between the king and the Goa chamber, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* i., that about this time the latter body laid claim to the Cochin levy, to be employed in the fortification of Goa, the arming of vessels, &c. The ground of this claim seems to have been, that ships with goods for Goa, being often monsoon-bound, put in to Cochin and there discharged cargo, on which this duty was levied.

[5] Early in August, apparently.

de Mancelos, Simaõ Leitaõ, Pero Rodrigues, and Antonio Coelho who had concluded his service as captain of Coulaõ; and running along the coast they doubled Cape Comorim, and made Tuticorim in order to cross over to Columbo; and so we shall leave them until we return to them[1].

Rajú seeing that the summer had begun, which was the time for the succours from without to begin to arrive, wished, before they came, to try his hand once more and attack the fortress by sea and by land, in order that the small force that it had might be divided and the different parts and bastions become weakened: and to this end he commanded his armada to be got ready and set afloat, and ordered several *modeliares* with their men to embark therein, and gave them instructions as to what they had to do. All being ready, and the army prepared, on the 20th of August towards evening they unfurled in Rajú's camp two flags, one white and the other red[2], and at once began confusedly to beat all the kettledrums and blow all the trumpets; and all these signals and each by itself signified that the coming night would be a sad and perilous one for the besieged, and that all the rest of the force was about to deal with them. The captain spent that evening in going the round of all the bastions and posts, and in providing them with many munitions and arms, reminding all the captains of their duties, setting before them the havoc that so little before they had caused among those enemies; and that this time they must make them despair entirely of that siege; and being advised of the armada that had been prepared, and that Rajú had determined to attack him by sea, he ordered Domingos de Aguiar[3] to embark in his little ship with some soldiers, and did the same to Diogo de Mello da Cunha and Joaõ Fernandes the Beardless in two foists that were at the bar, with the men that he thought necessary, and sufficient sailors, providing them with munitions; in such manner that nothing remained to be done for them, there taking part with him in all these things all the monks of the city, who, as we have said, praying and fighting were present in the greatest dangers and needs, the prelates that night taking upon themselves the responsibility of the posts. The father Frei Duarte Chanoca, commissary of the Minorites in those parts, took under his charge the side towards Mapano with a lay companion and some servants of the house with

[1] See the end of this chapter.

[2] This statement is curious, since a red flag seems to have been used to denote defeat, while a white flag signalized victory (see *Rep. on Kég. Dist.* 61; *C. P. Gaz.* 244).

[3] See *supra*, p. 288.

their matchlocks and arms; the father Frei Luis da Conceiçaõ, guardian, and the father Frei Manoel de Jesus remained free in order to hasten to all parts to assist in spiritual and bodily needs. At the gate[1] of Saõ Lourenço was the father Francisco Vieira, vicar of the country[2], with thirty-two matchlocks that he mustered from friends and kinsmen; from the bastion of Saõ Miguel to that of Saõ Joaõ, which was the most perilous part, the father Pero Dias went to and fro with some companions and slaves.

All having been got ready, they let themselves remain in such silence that throughout the whole city nothing was heard but the bell of the watches; and in the watch before daylight, on the appearance of the moon, they heard a great hubbub in the enemy's quarters, and immediately were given the five strokes on the kettledrums, the signal of attack, whereupon there arose throughout the whole army loud alarums and cries which they call *coquiadas*[3], because the most part of the heathens of India fight as much with the tongue as with the hands[4]. The enemy's armada, which was quite ready, on hearing the signal began to put out from the river; and at Matual, the Quarry, Mapano, and Capelete appeared much people, and the armada came in great silence to attack a small bay that there is on the iron-bound coast at the back of Saõ Francisco[5], where are the magazines of munitions[6]; for as we have said there was there no wall save the rugged rocks and the waves that break upon them, because their intention was to see if they could disembark on the top of the rocks in order to set fire to the magazines.

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[1] Perhaps *porta* is an error for *ponta* (*cf. supra*, p. 296, and see below).

[2] I do not know when he was appointed. As vicar of Columbo, it was natural that he should take his station at the point where stood the parish church of St. Lawrence, erected by the exertions of the first vicar, João Monteiro (see C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 365).

[3] See *Hob.-Job. s.vv.* "Cucuya, Cucuyada."

[4] The manuscript has "arms" (*armas*) in place of "hands."

[5] The plan of Columbo in Le Grand's translation of Ribeiro shows this church, but places it too far north. In Ressende's plan it is shown close to the shore at a point west by north of the present Gordon Gardens. The shore makes a slight incurve there.

[6] These are shown in Ressende's plan as a large quadrilateral range with a garden in the centre. It was still standing when Heydt saw it in 1734, being then used by the Dutch as a workshop (see *Allern. Geog. und Topog. Schauplatz* 143; and compare Daalmans, in C. A. S. Jl. x. 163). The site was probably that now occupied by the commissariat stores.

This was not done in such silence that it was not perceived by the women who were watching at the windows that overlooked that part, who gave such loud cries that they were heard by the enemy: upon which they let themselves go, running past the point of Saõ Lourenço, firing off many bombard shots, which was the signal that they had to make on arriving at that part, for those of the army with the whole force to attack the posts in order to draw them off from that part. The signal having been heard, all the artillery was discharged from their positions, which were very close to ours, after which they all attacked the fortress with many cries[1], setting up against it many ladders, by which climbing up with great determination they succeeded in placing their hands on the battlements of the bastion: but as our people were alert to avenge themselves of that affront, most of those that offered it paid for it with their lives, falling burnt and cut to pieces upon others that were attempting the ascent, whom they carried with them, so that at the foot of the bastions and posts there was a salad[2] of living and dead and wounded, one upon another, so that they could not be distinguished, because upon all fell so many pots of powder and fireworks, that it presented an infernal spectacle.

The fleet was now entering the bar, and the foists, which were ready, went and got alongside of the ships in order to assist each other; and they welcomed the enemy with a salvo of artillery so well laid out, that they made them lose the pride with which they came, cutting them up with the death of many; and nevertheless, as they were going at full speed, they went running on past the part[3] of Saõ Lourenço, where was the vicar of the country, who with his harquebusery fustigated[4] and scathed them right well; and as the enemy were already within the bank[5], and so near that all the shots both from the ship and foists as well as from the land took effect upon them much to their cost, they slowed down, and in the midst of falcon and matchlock shots made for the land, so that in itself it was a very hot battle; and in all the posts, where our men fought with much valour and vigour, they heard the battle on the seaside, without knowing what it was.

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[1] In place of "with many cries" the manuscript has "and."

[2] As we should say, "a hotch-potch." Faria y Sousa, in his summary of Couto's account, uses the word *balsa*, "puddle."

[3] Here, again, *parte* may be a misreading for *ponta*.

[4] For the *fustigou* of the printed edition the manuscript has *festejou*, "welcomed." Either may be right.

[5] This sandbank has now been dredged away; but it will be found marked in the older maps and charts of Columbo.

The captain had provided for everything very methodically; and although he considered the part on the bay secure, nevertheless he had swift messengers who brought him full particulars of what took place there.

The enemy passed over on the top of the dead and wounded to attack the bastions and posts, striving to get up to them, and from all sides raining upon our people deluges of bullets and arrows, which they always overshot in order not to hurt their own people, who were attempting an entrance of the walls and bastions, which were not idle, because with their artillery, which never ceased, they had caused a great destruction in the army. Very well did the master gunner Pero Gonsalves fulfil his office this day, who, not staying in any part, went the round of all the posts and levelled and aimed the most necessary pieces, and stirred up the bombardiers; and being in the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ aiming a piece, a ball struck him on one arm and broke it to pieces, which was a great loss, owing to the permanent deficiency that it made.

As the moon kept rising so it went on giving more light, by means of which our people now could make out the whole field, and fought more at their will, and with less anxiety because they saw the enemy very well, who with all their strength and spirit strove to enter the bastions, in which the confusion was so great that Rajú thought that his people were already in possession of them. His armada, which was fighting with ours in the bay, was so fustigated by the artillery, that they could no longer endure it, being shattered, and with so many killed that now the light of the moon revealed them entirely, so that our people could bestow their shots better, and making the signal to retire, they did so much cut up and scathed. Those that were attacking the posts, on hearing the signal from the armada to retire, did so likewise, having been so ordered, and leaving the foot of the posts and bastions strewn with dead bodies, which they could not carry off in the hurry. Of our people there were some wounded, but not dangerously, only the gunner, who died of the bombard shot. Rajú continued raging at his people, because he had been certain that in that way the city could not escape him, laying the blame on the armada for going out later than it had been ordered, and commanded to go on with the fortification so as to reach and come close to our walls.

This attack having passed, presently, on the 23rd of August, there arrived the armada of Nuno Alvares Datouguia, who crossed that gulf with much trouble and personal risk, except the ship of Adriaõ Nunes, who not being able to endure

the high seas put in to Manar[1]. This succour was welcomed by all, as being of greater strength and arriving at such a good time. The captain gave to Nuno Alvares Datouguia the place in which he was, which was the quarter of Saõ Gonsalo, and placed Pero Rodrigues with his men in the bastion of Santo Estevaõ, and Antonio Coelho in that of Saõ Joaõ, in which was Thomé de Sousa de Arronches, captain-major of the sea in Ceilaõ, whom the captain ordered to put the galley to sea, and provide his armada in order to cruise in it, because with the succour from Cochim the city was secure: which he did, providing the ships with captains who were in the foists in the bay; and transferred himself to the post of the *alcaide mór*, which was the quarter of Mapano; and the *alcaide mór* went to the factory, keeping a galliot manned with people of his in order to embark in it when necessary.

DEC. X., BK. X., CHAP. V.

Of some succours that came besides from without to the fortress of Columbo: and of the assaults that our people made on the tranqueiras *of the enemy: and of how our fleet fought with that of Rajú.*

The news of the siege of Columbo spread along the whole coast of Negapataõ until it reached the city of Saõ Thomé, upon which many men who were lovers of honour were eager to go and succour it: and those that first offered themselves in their ships were Fernaõ de Lima, knight of the order of Christ, a very good soldier and a friend of Joaõ Correa de Brito's, Manoel Damaral, who had come there as captain of a galliot of Bengala, Rodrigo Alvres, half-brother to Thomé de Sousa de Arronches, with others and the best soldiers that they could find; and fair weather serving them, in a few days they reached Columbo just at the beginning of September. The captain received them with much honour, stationing Fernaõ de Lima on the cavalier of the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ, and Manoel Damaral in another necessitous part, and Rodrigo Alvres went to the position that had been his brother's[2].

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[1] Where he remained until the end of October (see p. 349 *infra*).

[2] Originally Thomé de Sousa had been allotted the bastion of S. João only, but afterwards João Correa had incharged him with the stretch of ramparts from there to the bastion of Madre de Deos (see *supra*, pp. 293, 316). As we read at the end of the preceding chapter, Thomé de Sousa had now resumed his substantive post of captain-major at sea.

About this time, or a little before these arrived, some volunteers offered themselves to Rajú to burn the watch-towers that stood between the bastions of Madre de Deus and Saõ Gonsalo, they being lower than any, which was the extent that was guarded by Manoel Mexia, who as he was experienced in the country, and moreover had his spies, learnt of the determination of the enemy; and taking some soldiers whom he selected for the business, and with his *lascarins*, having given the captain an account of what had occurred and what he had determined to do, he went out through the embrasures, and placed himself in ambush to see if he could accomplish some worthy feat. This was in the morning, when the enemy were coming in great silence to attack that part, the whole army remaining under arms in order to hasten thither on their giving them the signal that they were on the top of the watch-towers. And in front came an *arache*, a very valiant man, who in the past war of Manoel de Sousa Coutinho had brought to Rajú twenty-nine heads of *lascarins* of Columbo, a man well known and greatly feared, and hated by all; and coming upon the ambush of Mexia, he sprang out upon him with a spear in his hands, and set upon him with such speed, that he was only aware of him when he found himself run right through. And at the same time that he thrust the spear into him he seized him and lifted him up in his arms, and came to the embrasure which was near, and through it handed him to the *lascarins* that were inside, who looked at him, and one of them named Maroto[1], to whom he must have been very odious, recognizing him gave him a slash over the heart that cut him completely open, and three times took his blood in his hands and drank it to satiate the thirst of hatred that he had towards him. And our men who also were in Mexia's company, likewise closing with those that came with him, put several to the rout, and the artillery of the watch-towers at the signal was discharged upon them, and caused great destruction: in fine, the remainder went retreating well shamed and scathed, and our men victorious and content.

Rajú was so annoyed at these things that he knew not how to set himself to give council, seeking every means of injuring our people, even to commanding to cast poison into the well

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[1] This name means "rascal" in Portuguese, and may have been bestowed upon this man as a nickname either from his character, or possibly in punning allusion to the village from which he may have come, Moraṭuwa.

of Mapano[1], from which all our people drank, over which close watch was kept, so much so, that those who came with that object, having been detected and given a good beating, left the poison and retreated; and in order to dispirit our people he gave every night signals for assaults, whereby he made them remain all night with arms in their hands; several times sending some volunteers in *tones*, in great silence, to cut the cables of the ship and to throw fire on to the boats; but every contingency was so provided for, that all his designs were frustrated. And some of his people having offered to go and fight our armada, he ordered his to be got ready, which consisted of ten ships quite filled with picked men; and coming from the Matual side in the height of midday[2], and putting in to land, they made as if to disembark with their banners, which they carried unfurled. Thomé de Sousa de Arronches, captain-major of that coast, who was in his galley, ordered the anchor to be weighed, and went to attack them, there going also with him in a foist Francisco da Silva, *alcaide mór*, and Simaõ Botelho in another, there hastening to the shore the captains of the ships of the company of Nuno Alvres Datouguia with their men in order to embark in theirs. Thomé de Sousa, who went out against the enemy, discharged amongst them a bow-piece, and caught one in the hind-castle, which completely shattered it with the rudder, and killed some of the oarsmen: the captain-major of the enemy set upon the galley and ran his prow right against it, and endeavoured to get men aboard it, upon which there ensued a fierce fight; but nevertheless our people so mauled them that they on their side had to cast off and retire. Thomé de Sousa, on account of some sandbanks[3] that were in front of him, cast anchor, and the foists went following him; and getting in front of him they went athwart him in the channel through which they had to pass, because now behind them came the ships of Pero Rodrigues, Domingos Alvres, and Simaõ Leitaõ, which were overhauling them rapidly and placing them in the necessity of attempting the sandbank, which had little water: and grazing the top of it they got to the other

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[1] This is evidently the well shown in Ressende's plan inside the fort near the gate of Mapane (another is shown near the ordnance magazines), and it is also given in the plan in Le Grand's Ribeiro, but so badly drawn, that it looks like a barrel. That Rája Siṇha could poison a well inside the fort does not appear probable; and we may dismiss the accusation (which is brought forward in every war) as groundless. (See, however, *infra*, p. 347.)

[2] Probably in the hope of catching the Portuguese enjoying a siesta.

[3] See p. 326, note [5].

side, because all their ships are of Patana build[1] and require little depth. Some of our people assumed this to be a ruse of the same Rajú's, because he thought from the courage of our men that going after his people they would not allow them to flee from them, and so, without being afraid of the sandbank, they would follow them on to it, by which he was certain that some ship would be lost, which he would greatly appreciate, although his whole armada should perish: but our people preferred rather to see them retreat disgraced and escape to face Rajú, who was watching them, than capture any of their ships. Joaõ Correa de Brito, in order that this bold action should not be without reward, whilst they were still going in confusion on the sea, sent out the *arache* Pero Afonso with his *lascorins* to go and dismantle a bridge that Rajú had made on the road from Cota to Calapate[2], which he did with great brevity, coming back with some timber. All these things Rajú felt much, and they vexed him greatly: for when he came against that fortress he did not think that our people would have the boldness to appear outside its walls, far less make assaults upon them so many times in their own *tranqueiras* with so much loss to his people.

After this had taken place on the 7th of this month of September, Rajú commanded some *araches* with a thousand men to be placed in ambush in Mapano in order to surprise our *mainatos* (who are those that wash the clothes[3]) and get some booty from them; and at daybreak our people, as they were ever wont, went out to reconnoitre the field; and whilst going near the entrenchments and having almost fallen into the ambush, a cow that was wandering on the plain took fright and came running towards our men: a usual thing with them, as soon as they perceive people on the plain, being to flee to the fortress; and our men, understanding that the cow perceived people, halted. Those in the ambush thinking that they were discovered, seeing our men so near, rushed out upon

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[1] In original (manuscript and printed edition) "de Patana." The meaning of this (though I am somewhat doubtful) may perhaps be found in the following passage in Bowrey (229):—"A Patella. The boats that come down from Pattana with saltpeeter or Other goods built of an Exceedinge Strength and are Very flatt and burthensome" (see also note on p. 225). A picture of "a patella" is given in plate xv.

[2] As I cannot identify "Calapate," I am unable to tell where this bridge was; but it could not have been far from the fort.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 225, note [3]. In the plan of Columbo in Le Grand's Ribeiro the lake, which is depicted of a ridiculously diminutive size, is described as "Etang des Lavandieres" [*sic*], the dhobies being thus turned into washer*women*!

them with great fury: those in front on seeing them rallied to the banner of the *arache* Manoel Pereira, who was the reconnoitrer that day, and who was with some *lascarins* some two hundred paces from the bastion; and seeing the enemy coming dispersedly, he set on, crying "Santiago!" and engaged them in a very stiff battle. This skirmish was seen from the bastion by Antonio Guerreiro, captain of it, who went out to him with his men, and having joined Manoel Pereira, they had with the enemy a brave spear-play, in which moreover they were assisted by Thomé Pires, captain of the bastion of Saõ Pedro[1], who dashed out by the embrasures to aid them, and arrived at the time when our people were in a great strait on account of the numbers that reinforced the enemy; and falling on them with great courage, they caused great havoc; and driving them from the field, they went on killing them as far as close to Rajú's *tranqueiras*, where they again turned upon our people with others that had reinforced them, and there took place between them all a very hot battle, in which the captain on horseback[2] hastened out to take part, and some captains with their companies, ordering to beat the retreat, which our people did in very good order, leaving the field strewn with dead bodies, and carrying off in token of victory several heads, without having on our side more harm than two *lascarins* slightly wounded.

The same day the captain sent the *araches* Manoel Pereira and Pero Afonso, and the *Amouco*[3], and Luiz Gomes the Mulatto, and a native of India called the Moorkin, with the men of their round to destroy the *tranqueira* that Rajú had made twenty paces from the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ, as it was not well to allow them a proximity so close, since he intended to go forward with another until he had got right up to the bastion[4], and ordered some captains with their men to be ready in the field to help them. The *araches* having gone out, taking some barrels of tar and plenty of powder to throw into it, before they reached there were seen from the direction of the island; and giving the signal with their *coquiadas* and cries they went running from *tranqueira* to *tranqueira*. But as the distance was one of only twenty paces to where the *tranqueira* was, our men, coming to it with great determination, placed on the outer side of it up against the timbers the barrels of tar and much powder, to which they set

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[1] See *supra*, p. 314, note [2].

[2] This is the second time that Couto has mentioned the use of horses in Ceylon (see *supra*, pp. 183, 188, 189, and *cf.* p. 53, note [1]).

[3] See *supra*, p. 303.

[4] The manuscript has "fortress."

fire on the windward side, which caught alight with such fury and[1] fierceness, that immediately it began to blaze in all parts, and so gained the mastery of it, that it was not possible for those inside to quench it, who came out into the field and engaged our people in a great fight. And as the enemy were reinforced they retired, leaving thirty of them dead, and without losing one; but as luck would have it, while Fernaõ de Lima was standing on the top of the cavalier of the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ watching the fight, there came a random bullet and struck him in the jaws, from which he straightway fell dead, he having escaped so many times from very great dangers in many excursions in which he took part, both on sea and on land, in this and in other wars; and now behind the walls and on the top of the highest bastion of all the bullet came to hit him, not one of those that were on the field coming wounded at the hands of the enemy: such are the judgments of God, of whom we cannot ask a reason for these things. His death was much felt, as he was a very worthy knight, and the manner thereof did not fail to cause astonishment to all.

The *tranqueira* to which they set fire burnt four days, being of very thick wood[2]; and of these and other assaults there were many and very frequent, in which our people always got the better, which we pass over on account of being very trifling; and so for a little we shall leave these things, as it is necessary to continue with others.

Dec. X., Bk. x., Chap. vi.

Of how the viceroy sent Bernardim de Carvalho to Ceilaõ: ......

After Belchior Nogueira had given in Cochim the news of the siege of Columbo he left for Goa[3], and gave the viceroy the letters from Joaõ Correa de Brito, in which he related to him the siege and gave him an account of the state in which those things were. The viceroy seeing that need at once proceeded to the dockyard[4], and commanded to launch a galley and six ships, and paid men, and ordered munitions to be embarked, and chose for this expedition Bernardim de Carvalho, and on

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[1] The manuscript omits these two words.

[2] The printed edition has "thick woodwork" (*madeiramento grosso*) in place of the "very thick wood" (*madeira muito grossa*) of the manuscript.

[3] See *supra*, p. 323.

[4] In original *ribeira*, regarding which see Teix. Introd xiv., note 3.

the 4th of September he set sail[1]: the captains who accompanied him were Dom Bernardo Coutinho, Dom Luis Mascarenhas, Gaspar de Carvalho de Menezes, Vasco de Carvalho, Afonso Ferreira da Silva, and the same Belchior Nogueira. They carried in these ships 250 men; and without stopping for anything they went pursuing their way, to whom we shall presently return[2].

The viceroy went making great haste with the galleon that was to carry provisions to Ceilaõ[3], and collecting food, munitions, and money to send thither; and presently, on the 12th of September, there anchored at the bar of Goa four ships of the five that left the kingdom in March past, ...

The viceroy Dom Duarte, seeing what the king commanded him on that matter[4], considered it in council with the officers of revenue; and the business having been debated, inconveniences were pointed out in the way of interfering with the mines just then, the principal being, the small capital that the king then had, and the need in which the state was because of the sieges of Ceilaõ and Malaca, by the succours of which it was so indebted, that the viceroy was engaged in asking money of the peoples of India, and other things that we leave for a future occasion. And the chief ensign replied to the king on that matter, that he would be very happy to order in due season an alteration in the affairs of those fortresses, and that the redemptions should be placed to the account of his revenue, for which he was quite ready, because he held him for a king so Catholic, and of such justice, that he would not deny it to him when he required it of him: and so those things remained for the present without interfering with them, because the viceroy had respect for the chief ensign, who was a fidalgo of merits, and was in the middle of his time of service. And as every day there came urgent messages from the siege of Columbo, the viceroy, desiring to have a resolution on these things, assembled the captains in council, and read the letters to them, and set forth the needs and straits in which that fortress

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[1] Linschoten says (ii. 196–7):—"At the same time the Fort called Columbo, which the Portingales held in the island of Seylon, was besieged by the king of Seylon, called Raiu, and in great danger to be lost: which to deliver, there was an armie of fustes and gallies sent from Goa: whereof was Generall Barnaldin de Carvalho."

[2] See *infra*, chap. vii., at beginning (p. 335).

[3] The annual galleon, which left for Ceylon in September or October (*cf. supra*, X. IV. v., p. 264; X. v. ix., pp. 267–8).

[4] The profits from the mines of Sofala and Cuama, which the captain of Moçambique appropriated (see Linsch. i. 30–3).

was, and asked for a decision on the manner in which it should be relieved of the siege: and voting on this, after many altercations on one side and another, they came to the conclusion that the state had not, to help in that business, more capital than Dom Paulo[1] had in Malaca, from whom they had no news; that steps should be taken to defend the fortress, since the men it had were enough for its safety, because with the arrival of Bernardim de Carvalho there would be more than a thousand Portuguese; that a captain should be elected with the power that the state at that time could give of itself, and that he should go to Columbo, and that the viceroy should write to Dom Paulo to go with all his fleet to that fortress, and that having united his force with that which had gone and with that which was already there, it was sufficient to give battle to the enemy and to drive him thence, as already they had done in the past siege of Manoel de Sousa[2]. With this resolution the viceroy wrote to Dom Paulo to be as expeditious as possible in reaching Columbo, and that there he would find orders as to what he had to do, and dispatched the ships for Malaca, where he ordered provision to be made in many things.

Dec. X., Bk. x., Chap. vii.

Of how Bernardim de Carvalho arrived at Columbo: and of the other things that happened at the same time: and of the mines that Rajú ordered to be made, which were discovered, and our people destroyed them.

Bernardim de Carvalho having set out from Goa[3] with his armada all together, meeting with fair though boisterous weather, made such haste, that in eleven days he reached Columbo, which was on the 15th[4] of this month of September of which we are treating. The sight of this armada was to the enemy very dismaying, but to our people one of much joy and rejoicing, they hastening to the shore to welcome the new guests, who presently disembarked armed with many and good arms. The captain Joaõ Correa took them to lodge

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[1] D. Paulo de Lima Pereira, who had left Goa on 28 April 1587 with an armada for the relief of Malacca, which was besieged by the kings of Achin and Johor (see Linsch. ii. 197).

[2] See *supra*, p. 257.

[3] See previous chapter, p. 334.

[4] The printed edition has in error "11th."

them, just as they came, in quarters near the bastion of Madre de Deus, in order from there at the command of their captain-major to hasten to help in all the affairs of most necessity. With this succour those of the fortress became more assured, and the enemy more fearful, because they well knew that the brave Portuguese would not suffer themselves to remain hemmed in, but would burst forth to their hurt.

At this same time the captain was advised that Rajú was bringing forward the mine at the part that we have mentioned[1], which had its exit aboveground, because of the ponds of water, right at the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ, in order to come and break in underneath it, the which had already come very near, and with which it was necessary to deal: he therefore ordered to place some stakes in the ditch at the part where the mine would have to break through until they reached the water which was near there, so that as soon as the mine reached these they would be discovered by them, in order by means of the same ditch to deprive them of the filling and the earth that was above it, which served them as earthworks with which they intrenched themselves: and so, as they went forward with the mine, they carried forward the earthworks, which were great. But as the captain did not know the height to which the mine reached, he ordered Antonio .... [2] and Antonio Dias, captains of his round, to get into the ditch with the engineers and proceed digging below the mines, opening up the earth; and he ordered the *araches* Pero Afonso and Manoel Pereira to go and burn a piece of bastion, of that which they had burnt, which Rajú had strengthened anew, who with their *lascarins* went and attacked it with great determination, and set fire to it, and made those in it take to flight, whereby our men who were in the ditch had time to discover the mine, which already penetrated below the ditch, and was coming bit by bit to issue at the bastion; and they found that the height of it inside was that of a big man, and the breadth a fathom and a half, shored up above with thick timber, and at the sides with broad planking, to keep the mine from falling in, because Rajú did not aim at more than to convey his men protected from our artillery until they reached the bastion or the wall and undermined it, without their being able to prevent it, or knowing what they intended; and the earth that they dug out they threw up above, which served them

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[1] See *supra*, p. 322.

[2] In both the manuscript and the printed edition the surname is wanting; but that it should be "Lourenço" is evident from chap. ii. (p. 313) *supra*, where the same two Antonios are mentioned together.

(as we have said) for intrenchments, under cover of which they were approaching the bastion with other contrivances and bulwarks of wood, which they went on constructing, as the work went on increasing. Our men, who were already in the mine, seeing the enemy coming to the work, contrary to the orders that they bore showed themselves, and they had inside a tolerable fight, in which they killed some of the enemy; and as the latter were reinforced, they went out, leaving dead a good soldier of ours named André de Queirós, whose head the enemy cut off and carried to Rajú, which was the first present that they made him from that fort, from the beginning of the siege until then. The enemy had already arrived at the ditch with the mine, and were in possession of it, whereby the captain feared much that they would undermine the bastion or set fire to it, which he wished to prevent, though he might have to run great risk: wherefore he sent the men of his round into the ditch to attack the mine with many fire-lances and pots of powder, and workmen to destroy it, and ordered to go out into the field a body of troops and the *araches* with their *lascarins* supported by our men, in order to assault the *tranqueira* where the opening of the mine had been begun, all remaining under arms to succour them should this be necessary. Those that had to attack the mine from the direction of the ditch an hour before sunset entered it with fire-lances, with which they cleared a way, throwing on the enemy many pots of powder, which burnt them, and thus they had a fine fight inside which lasted a good while. Those that went to attack in the other direction fell upon the enemy suddenly, and killed several, and by this means the others had time to throw into the mouth of the mine some pots of powder, whereby the enemy who were fighting in this other part of the ditch with our men, thinking that an entrance had been made in the other direction, turned round to retreat, and our men after them killing them at their pleasure; and so great was the slaughter, that the mine was filled with their corpses, and thus the workmen had time to dismantle the mine and carry off the timber from it. During this time there was proceeding throughout the field carried on on both sides a perilous engagement of harquebusery, a fearful and horrible affair, because almost the whole force of the enemy was in action, and the bastions did their duty, belching forth their thundering discharge, which caused great destruction among the enemy. And it being now an hour after dark, our men retired, having made a terrible havoc.

Our men having returned advised the captain that at that part where they found the ponds of water the mine divided into two, and that the other one took its way towards the quarters

of Antonio de Aguiar and the watch-tower of Manoel Borges[1]; and having been informed of this, desiring to frustrate the whole, he ordered to make a ditch of seventeen spans from the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ to the watch-tower of Manoel Borges on the inner side, and a *tranqueira* with filled barrels, so that if the enemy should make a breach in the other, or should mine the bastion, they should find another ditch, in order to impede the elephants. Whilst proceeding with this work, there fled to the fortress a *lascarim* of his, who brought the news that in the fight in the mines many of his men were killed, both in them and in the camp, and most of them by firelock shots in the head; and that Rajú had determined to attack with all the rest and to make two assaults upon the fortress, and to get troops into the city by the mines, and that already they were coming beneath Saõ Sebastiaõ. On this assurance the captain gave orders to remove the artillery at once from it, and to take out the filling, and to make in it some countermines in order to discover where the mine came, the which was effected with very great trouble, in which there took part all the captains and fidalgos and other people of the fortress, and all the monks. By this time the enemy had already so become masters of our ditch, that from its earth- eaps, whenever a man appeared on the angles, platforms, and cavaliers on our side, he was straightway struck by the much harquebusery that they had, as they did to a fidalgo called Dom Domingos, a natural son of Dom Martinho de Castello-Branco, former captain of Ormus[2], whom he had in India by a widow woman[3], and wounded others. The captain kept a very strict watch in the countermines because of the mines, and prepared for the assaults that Rajú intended to deliver. At this same time there arrived some of our spies, who had gone out twenty-four days before to spy at Ceitavaca[4], to see if they could bring in a Portuguese who was captive there, whom they brought: and this being a case of much stratagem and invention, and one that Rajú was much annoyed at, we shall give an account of it.

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[1] The "quarters of Antonio de Aguiar" were at a stretch of wall abutting on the bastion of S. Sebastiaõ (see *supra*, p. 320); but of the position of the "watch-tower of Manoel Borges" I am doubtful (see *supra*, p. 319, and further on in this chapter).

[2] When he held that post, I cannot find. He is mentioned in VIII. iii. (p. 227) *supra*, as taking part in the defence of Cota in 1564–5.

[3] The printed edition omits this bit of information regarding the mother of D. Domingos.

[4] Instead of "Ceitavaca" the printed edition has (apparently by a misreading) "e estava" (and it was).

Some years before[1] there was lost on the coast of Ceilaõ a *champana* belonging to one Diogo Gonsalves[2], a Portuguese man, who was carrying with him a young nephew, called Custodio da Ronda[3], who were immediately taken captive and brought to Rajú; and as for the Custodio da Ronda, who was a youth, Rajú commanded his ears to be bored[4], and that he be taught the customs of the Chingalas, and kept him in his house in his service. And the youth growing up, and becoming a favourite of Rajú's, received from him the favour of ransoming his uncle, which he did contrary to his religion and laws, who came to Columbo, where in all the past sieges he served the king right well, doing great harm to Rajú. And because in this siege he had done many actions of a valiant man to the hurt of his people, in order to be revenged on him, he commanded the nephew Custodio da Ronda to be conveyed to Adam's Peak, and that he should be taught the work of a husbandman, so that at no time should he be able to get out thence, nor the uncle have hopes of seeing him. Of this youth one Miguel Ferreira Baracho, who at the beginning of the siege had escaped to us[5], gave an account, upon which news the uncle laboured to see if there were any means of getting him thence: and conversing with some spies, men of much experience, and who knew the country very well, regarding this matter, having made them his promises, the captain taking a great interest therein, he gave them stratagems that they were to use, namely, a forged letter in the name of Rajú, which commanded the men to whom Ronda had been intrusted that as soon as they saw it they were to give him forthwith to the person who presented it to them, copying the style and

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[1] This vague statement leaves us ignorant of the year when the event occurred.

[2] See *supra*, p. 294, note [1].

[3] This sounds more like an appellative than a real name.

[4] This was done to all renegade Portuguese. The anonymous writer of *Primor e Honra*, in describing the condition of the Portuguese deserters to Rája Siṇha, says (I. vi.) :—" They bore their ears with very large holes, because it is a custom of the country, the more respectable, the longer their ears " (*cf.* on this Barb. and Cast. in *C. Lit. Reg.* iv. 211, 190). Knox (*Hist. Rel.* 89–90) tells us that this custom fell into desuetude in the reign of Rája Siṇha II., owing to that king's not complying with the fashion. The diarist of Spilbergen's voyage seems to have fallen into an error when he speaks of the Portuguese in Kandy having their ears cut or clipped (see *C. Lit. Reg.* vi. 325, 334, where in the first passage " cut off " should be " cut open " or " slit ").

[5] See *supra*, p. 302, note [3]. He is probably the " Miguel Ferreira " mentioned in chap. xv. below (*cf.* pp. 370, 371, with p. 375).

peculiarities of his mandates, which he could very well do, because this tyrant was so false and unjust, that he never passed an *alvará* sealed with any seal of his, in order afterwards to have an excuse for not observing any, when he wished; and with this letter Diogo Gonsalves gave him one signed by himself in his own writing and on our paper to show to his nephew, that he might know that they came by his order. These men having set out arrived at Ceitavaca, where they learnt the news that Rajú had commanded the murder of seventeen Portuguese whom he held captive, and whom he trusted more than the Chingalas themselves, because the escape of Miguel Ferreira Baracho to Columbo, as we have said, whom he trusted above everyone, enraged him to such a degree that he wished to avenge it on as many Portuguese as he held captive, commanding all of them to be put to death by blows, which to them is the most ignominious death of all, as it is given only to traitors. And knowing that the youth was on Adam's Peak, they went thither, and gave the letter of Rajú to those that had charge of him, who seeing in it that he commanded to at once deliver up that man complied with it, giving them sixty armed *lascarins* to accompany him. And coming on their journey, being now near to Ceitavaca, the spies feigned that they had somewhat to say to Ronda in secret, telling the *lascarins* to withdraw, requiring this of them on behalf of Rajú, as they had a matter of urgency to carry out with that man, which Rajú had ordered to be done before entering Ceitavaca. The *lascarins*, believing that he must have ordered them to kill him, as they had done to the Portuguese a few days before, withdrew, and the spies betook themselves with Ronda into the jungle; he believing (for till then he had known nothing, nor had they discovered themselves to him) that it was to kill him, became terror-stricken. The spies gave him an account of everything, showing him the letter signed by his uncle, telling him to commend himself to the great God of the Christians, who could do whatever he wished, that he would favour them in that affair, and deliver them all from the hands of Rajú; and betaking themselves into the jungle, which they knew very well, they took a very little frequented road for Columbo, making great haste therein, concealing themselves by day, and travelling by night, passing by three *tranqueiras* (there being that number between Ceitavaca and Columbo[1]) with very great risk and danger. And by the astuteness and management of the spies, at the end of twelve days, in the third watch of the night, they reached Columbo.

[1] *Cf. supra*, VI. VIII. vii. (pp. 136–8).

and passing through Rajú's army they came to the gate of the city ; and having told the tidings to the guards, in the morning they were brought in and taken to the captain, amid great rejoicing by the uncle and a crowd of people who hastened to see them. The uncle spoke with him, and safeguarded him in such fashion that he came to himself ; and like a man that has awakened from a troubled dream, finding himself in a safe place, he gave many thanks to God, and from him the captain learnt many things ; but not that he revealed much, since he had been away from Rajú for some time back.

And to continue once more with the siege, Rajú, seeing that they had destroyed that mine of his, commanded to continue with two other mouths, which came to strike between the quarters of Antonio de Aguiar and the watch-tower of Manoel Borges, of which the captain also was advised, without knowing at what part they were going to break in, on account of which there was prevalent in the city a general fear, and so public, that the captain and fidalgos whom it did not infect had more trouble in seeking to remove it than in defending the fortress against Rajú, showing themselves very cheerful and light-hearted in this business : because the greater part seeing the little store that they set on it thought that the danger was not so great as they had conceived from the rumour that had spread through the city. The captain made it all his care and exerted all his abilities to discover the direction that those mines must take, in order to see if he could remedy the evil that was feared from them ; but he could arrive at nothing, because on all sides they were entirely closed in, so that, not to speak of going outside the gates, they could not aim from the loopholes, but they were immediately struck by the enemy's harquebusery, a thing that had put them in great anxiety. Thomé de Sousa de Arronches, upon whom during the whole course of the time there devolved, as we have said, equal obligations, as captain-major of the fleet under his charge, was in no wise negligent, working, watching, counselling, arranging many very important matters, going the round of the posts and walls with much diligence. And going one day along the wall that runs from the watch-tower of Manoel Borges to the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ, which was of mud, a part that they feared for most, on arriving at a place in which he descried an aperture[1], he saw a hole, of those that remained from the timbers of the mud-wall, which it would seem that God had discovered to him for that purpose ; and putting his

[1] The word in the original is *agulheiro*, which means a peep-hole or air-hole. It is difficult to follow Couto's meaning here ; but I think only one hole is meant, though two seem to be spoken of.

eyes thereto, he saw on the other side, which was the face of the ditch that the captain had ordered to be brought thither, the mine opening out of the earth at that part in order that they might come out by it into the ditch ; and having assured himself he brought the captain thither very dissemblingly, and showed it to him. On seeing that, he ordered stonemasons to be summoned, without saying what for, and ordered them to cut by square an embrasure that should correspond with the middle of the mouth of the ditch, which was not cut right through in order not to be seen, leaving a thickness on the other side that, on striking it with the mouth of a *camello* that they intended to place there, would break open, the stone being worked there at once for the embrasure. The hollow having been excavated with great speed, and a *camello* placed therein loaded with its charge and ball and a cartouche of stones very well prepared, on the following day in the morning the captain ordered to send out some *araches* with their *lascarins* to provoke the enemy to come and attack them, which they did ; and when they saw our men outside they covered the plains and filled the mines. Thomé de Sousa, who was astride on the *camello* watching by the hole, ordered the piece to be laid by the bombardiers ; and as soon as he saw the enemy entangled and thought the ditch was full, had the *camello* run out as it was : and first striking a blow on the facing that had been left on the outer side[1], and taking aim at the mouth of the mine, they set fire to it ; and as it was near the cartouche and ball took it from end to end, and went making all along it such shakings of the earth and such destruction, until it was quite exhausted, leaving the mines full of dead bodies. The enemy retired, and gave Rajú word of the injury that had been done. So, that we might not know how much we had done to him, nor his people the great injury that they had received, that they might not be discouraged, he commanded the mine to be broken up, and all the earth to be thrown over it that they had brought up for the entrenchments, in order therewith to cover up the destruction and the multitude of corpses that were therein, there being great rejoicing on our side, and the enemy feeling it much, the affair increasing their hate and desire to get a great satisfaction for it[2].

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[1] The printed edition omits this clause.

[2] The *Rájávaliya* describes this event as follows :—" Rája Siṃha . . . . had a mine made by the hill-men. The Portuguese, discovering it, placed gunpowder in the mine and blew it up. Note that many hill-men thus perished." (The translation at p. 91 of Guṇasékara's edition is not justified by the original.) There seems to be some confusion here with the event described *supra*, X. x. v., pp. 332–3.

DEC. X., BK. X, CHAP. viii.

Of some more succours that left for Ceilaõ: and of how Philippe de Carvalho went in succour in a provision ship: and of how Thomé de Sousa de Arronches fought with Rajú's armada, and of what happened to it.

Upon the arrival at Goa of the news of the jeopardy of the fortress of Columbo, after Bernardim de Carvalho had left[1], some volunteers arranged to go in succour: and the first that left was Antonio de Brito[2] in a galliot with soldier friends, whom he sought out for that purpose, and he went pursuing his journey, to whom we shall return later on[3]. The viceroy caused haste to be made with a ship that he had freighted to carry provisions to that fortress[4], in which he ordered to be embarked four hundred *quandis* of rice, one hundred of wheat, five thousand five hundred *pardáos* in money, many munitions, balls, powder, fire-pots, and fire-lances, and all other warlike stores, and the captaincy of this ship he gave to Felipe de Carvalho de Vasconcelos, a fidalgo, who had been granted those captaincies of voyages: and he accepted this one on account of its being to the service of the king to go in succour to that fortress; and the viceroy gave him fifty soldiers, and made them set sail at the end of September; and whilst he is on the way[5] we shall treat of the things that during this time occurred in Ceilaõ.

Rajú, exasperated at the past successes, was seeking every means of getting satisfaction and of injuring our people, even to wishing to use poison and charms for that purpose: wherefore he sent out some Chingalas, who were great sorcerers, like runaways, who came to Columbo, and represented themselves as greatly exasperated with and fearful of Rajú; and in some questions that the captain put to them they so contradicted themselves, that he considered them suspicious, and ordered them to be put to the torture, in which they confessed the truth, and were put to death and executed[6]: and in this

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[1] See *supra*, pp. 333–4.

[2] The manuscript adds "do braço," evidently for "do braço cortado," and apparently this is the same man that is mentioned in X. IV. v. (p. 264) *supra*, as captain of the provision galleon to Ceylon in 1583.

[3] See *infra*, p. 349.

[4] See *supra*, p. 334.

[5] Couto returns to him in the next chapter (see p. 350).

[6] What these apparently tautological statements are intended to convey, I do not know. Faria y Sousa, in his summary of Couto's narrative, says (*Asia Port.* III. I. vi. 12) that the enchanters were strangled (*ahogados*, which Stevens in his translation renders "drowned").

torture to which they were put there occurred an astonishing[1] incident which we shall relate, in order to show the strength that the devil has put into words to deceive these accursed ones; and the affair was this. Whilst the officers were putting one of them to the torture[2] there, in the questionings one of them uttered certain words, which must have been spoken by the mouth of the devil, because no person understood them; and upon his uttering them at once four of those that were near by[3] began suddenly to vomit with retchings and[4] death-like symptoms, the which lasted twenty-four hours; and when these were past they recovered their senses.

Of this Rajú was also informed, whereat he was extremely annoyed, as he had been certain that the captain would not be able to escape; and these things were for him greater torments and[5] tortures than those to which they put his people: and in his rage he caused to be assembled in his ports all the ships that he had, and commanded them to be armed and furnished with the best artillery and men that he had, and fitted out eighteen beaked ships, four *calemutes*[6], and eighteen large *tones*, and incharged this expedition to the *modeliares* in whom he had most confidence, ordering them to go and fight with the armada of the fortress, and endeavour to capture the galley. This armada appeared in sight of the fortress on the 4th of the month of October, the day of the seraphic father St. Francis, and came forth from the direction of Matual divided into three squadrons: on the right[7] came six ships and four *calemutes*, on the left the eighteen *tones*, and in the middle[8] the captain-major with twelve ships, the best and most fully fitted; and all that was seen in this armada was men with whom all the ships were packed, with arms that glittered in every part, instruments that resounded, and

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[1] The printed edition omits this word.

[2] Faria y Sousa (*u.s.*) has "garotte" (*garrote*).

[3] By these Faria y Sousa understands the executioners: the reference may, however, be to some of the prisoners.

[4] The printed edition omits these two words. It is noteworthy that Faria y Sousa (*u.s.*) has the identical word (*vascas*) omitted by the printed edition. He says that the executioners were left "struggling with rabious retchings [*rabiosas vascas*] for the space of 24 hours." Stevens translates the expression "convulsions."

[5] The manuscript omits these two words.

[6] See *supra*, p. 320, note [3].

[7] The manuscript has erroneously "in front."

[8] These three words are omitted in the printed edition.

many flags that fluttered in the breeze. The captain of the fortress, who had already been advised of that armada, ordered Thomé de Sousa de Arronches, captain-major of the sea, to go out against them with the ships of his command, and with those of Bernardim de Carvalho and Nuno Alvres Datouguia, which in all would be twelve, among which was a galliot, the captain of which was Francisco da Silva, *alcaide mór* of the fortress. In these ships embarked all the relief soldiers with great desire to encounter the enemy, and in the galley with Thomé de Sousa many friends of his, and all in very good order put out to sea against the enemy, who came to meet them: and on arriving at the distance of a base shot they discharged their artillery with such fury and uproar, that a good space of time passed during which they could not see our fleet from the fortress, on account of its being hidden by the denseness of the smoke. And as they went towards each other at full speed, they soon attacked one another; and the *alcaide mór* Francisco da Silva was the first that grappled a large ship which carried a *camelete* in the bow and other small pieces, and had on board sixty picked soldiers and three captains,—one of the bow, another of the poop, and another of the coursy,—an arrangement that all the rest had; and having grappled one another there commenced among them all a brisk interchange of spear thrusts and cuts and many pots of powder. Francisco da Silva displayed such energy, that by force he got with his soldiers on to the enemy's galliot, and with sword and targe settled the affair, there being left of them not more than twelve alive, whom they hanged to the yard, like banners. Affonso[1] Ferreira da Silva grappled another ship; and after firing the first volley he at once threw himself into it with his companions, who fought so valiantly, that they put the whole of the enemy to the edge of the sword. The other captains attacked the ships that they were able to get near to, with which they had their differences, at the end of which the enemy, cut up and vanquished, ungrappled and made off. The captain-major in the midst of the fleet with the galley went about assisting those that were fighting, and for his part making havoc of all that he could come at: and thus the enemy turned about, harried, worried, and routed, and went fleeing across the top of those sandbanks, knowing that Rajú would not pardon those that escaped; and yet they would rather risk his anger than the blows of our people, who gave over following them so as not to ground on the sandbanks; and the captain-major for fear of them anchored in order to collect

[1] The manuscript has erroneously "Antonio" (*cf. supra*, p. 334).

his ships, which were going after those of the enemy until they should make them run aground. The latter had lost four ships, two captured and other two sunk; of dead there were more than three hundred, and a greater number of wounded; and twenty-five captives, whom the ships hung out as flags. Of our people two of the *lascarins* were killed, and twenty-three wounded[1].

The galley, which had anchored at the sandbank, was so near that it could not get away quickly, because the north-east began to blow, which they there call *cachaõ*[2], which is a cross wind, and on that coast blows on most of the days, which came driving down so fiercely that at once the sea began to rage in such fashion that all considered the galley lost; and on account of being very close to the sandbank, as we have said, they did not dare to weigh anchor, lest they should be driven upon it; and the same was the case with the ships of Rodrigo Alvres, brother of Thomé de Sousa, and Simaõ Botelho, which anchored near the galley, because all the rest remained so far off that they were able to return to Columbo. And all night they remained anchored in that position at the mercy of God, because the weather became ever more tempestuous; and its force was so great, that the cables could scarcely bear it, and each time they got nearer to the sandbanks, because the wind carried them forward. The enemy stood waiting on land until they should be driven ashore, in order to capture them all and get possession of the ships with all the artillery, on which they already reckoned; but our people commended themselves in their hearts to God, and laboured all they could, throwing out other grapnels, and paying great heed to the cables. From the fortress could well be seen the trouble and danger in which all were, and they considered that God alone could deliver them, and so all went about the streets with their hands raised to heaven, begging it to succour them in that trouble. The monks spent all the night in prayer and disciplines, commending that matter to God and to our Lady, who appear to have heard their servants, as in the greatest force of the storm the wind abated, and the sea became quiet and serene, whereupon the galley and the ships took to their oars with great speed; and so hard did they row, that in the space of two hours they reached Columbo; and were scarcely inside when the weather became stormy again as before, and even more so: in which the most high God clearly showed that favour to be his own, and that he had not forsaken that city, because its refuge was in that armada.

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[1] According to the manuscript the two killed were Portuguese.

[2] See *supra*, p. 268, note [3].

Rajú was greatly incensed at the defeat of his people; and such was his rage, that he ordered the captains that had escaped to be beheaded, and went on like a madman over the ill successes that he had had in all his affairs, and did not give over seeking methods and stratagems to injure the fortress, even to having dealings with a *lascarim*, Joane by name, well known to him, and who was now there, to whom he sent persons in secret to sound him with great promises; and they came to an agreement with him, that on a certain day on which Rajú would give a signal to him he should join with several friends and set fire to the city, in order that whilst our people were occupied in extinguishing it they should assault the bastions with the whole force, and thus it would not escape him: and besides this he ordered a Christian[1] Chingala, Marcos by name, who was a runaway there, to feign to return to the fortress for fear of him, and in the city to cast poison into all the wells, which he gave him so subtle and of such strength, that all those that drank of it would not live more than six days. This Marcos having come fleeing to the fortress was captured by some peons in Mapano, and at once he changed colour in such fashion that he well showed that he had come with evil intent: wherefore he was questioned, and the poison being found upon him, he was taken to the captain, who commanded him to be put to the torture, and during this he confessed his crime, and revealed the dealings of Joanne[2] with Rajú, who likewise confessed all, and they were executed[3]. Thenceforward great caution was observed with regard to those that fled to the fortress, and they were ordered to be secured, because they did not know against whom they had to guard.

Dec. X., Bk. x., Chap. ix.

Of the dealings that Rajú had with the naiques *of the coast of Negapataõ, in order to prevent the sending of provisions to Ceilaõ: and of the succours that arrived from without: and of some assaults that our people delivered upon the camp: and of the great attack that Rajú made upon the fortress.*

Of all these things the tyrant Rajú was informed, and they were to him insufferable; and he became such, that none of his

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[1] The manuscript omits this word, but before "Marcos" inserts "Christovaõ."

[2] The manuscript has "Joaõ."

[3] The foregoing appears to be an amplification of the bare statement to the same effect made by Couto in X. x. v. *supra* (see p. 330, note [1]).

people dared to console him in any way : of nothing else did he think but of how he would avenge himself of such an affront ; and the devil, who in these matters is always ready, and is never wanting in new wiles for evils, suggested to him one that, if it had taken effect, would have placed that fortress in the last extremity ; and it was this.

Rajú knowing that the captain had sent to the coast of Negapataõ to seek provisions, and that thence Manar and Columbo were provided whenever it was necessary, and that at all seasons provisions could come to them thence, dispatched men on an errand with money and letters to the *naiques* and lords of that coast, in which he persuaded them that since they were heathens like himself[1] they should wish to aid him in that war against the Portuguese, and should come to his help for the honour of their idols ; and that at present he did not desire of them more than that they should not consent to any provisions' leaving their ports, and that all that there was they should sell to him at a higher price than that for which the Portuguese bought them, and that for that purpose he sent them much money : and some of them agreed to these conditions and bound themselves to sell him all the rice from their ports at a certain price, and others dissembled. Of this the captain Joaõ Correa was soon advised : and this was a matter that caused him more anxiety than all others, because in that way they could reduce him to desperation, since no human power could endure a war against famine ; but nevertheless he kept it secret, and so both in order not to cause fear to his men, and that those who had rice should not keep it locked up in such fashion that the poor wretches would come to perish, he ordered to buy all that could be had by other hands, and buried it in the storehouses in order to provide the people therewith until the provision ship should arrive from India, for which they looked hourly, as they knew that it had to leave by the end of September at the latest[2].

Rajú did not quiet down from the hate and rage in which he was, which was such, that although seeing the great caution that was observed in the fortress with regard to fugitives, and that all that he had sent with wiles were captured and tortured, not even on that account did he forbear to send a famous sorcerer who offered himself to him to bewitch the artillery and the captains of the posts. This man also went to attempt this business in the guise of a fugitive *lascarim* ; but as the devil is by nature the revealer of the evils that he plans, this man on reaching the fortress immediately at the

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[1] Rája Siṃha was a pervert to Hindúism (see *Maháv.* xciii.).

[2] See *supra*, p. 334, note [3], and p. 343.

first questions became confused[1], and betrayed the presence of the poison in his bosom; and being put to the torture, he confessed everything, and showed the apothec that he carried to effect his promises, which was, a book of many figures of men, animals, and trees, and letters after their manner, in which were set down magic words, with which he summoned the devil to work what he desired: and they also found on him a bundle in which he had the head and tail of a dried cobra de capello, a piece of a viper, seven pieces of barks of poisonous trees, a lump[2] of confections, which on being placed in the fire threw out rays and made the air the colour of sulphur; certain grains of pepper, ginger, and saffron, and other seeds, some peacock feathers, and some *jogue*'s beads. All this was burnt, and the sorcerer was impaled[3], without the devil's availing him; because as these are illicit and mischievous arts, they had no power by means of their enchantments to deliver this sorcerer, and all the rest that made use of them, from dangers and risks; because the devil after bringing them into these abandons them, as he has no power for more.

The affairs of Ceilaõ were in this state, with great caution in every direction, there not ceasing to be many alarms and assaults, in which our people always basted the enemy well, when on the 23rd of October there arrived the galliot of Antonio de Brito, which we left after it had set out from Goa, who sailing with fair weather made landfall at the island of Ceilaõ; and through the blowing of the strong *cachões* he was driven beyond the point of Galé, and went right round it, making in Rajú's ports on the other coast some assaults and prizes, both by sea and by land; and coming round to the other side, he made Manar, where he found the ship of Adriaõ Nunes of the company of Nuno Alvres Datouguia, which as we have said was driven to land by the weather[4], who was ready to set out, and Manoel de Macedo in a *coraçone*[5] in which he had left the

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[1] The manuscript has "turned about."

[2] Literally "stone." The word "confections" here has, of course, the old sense of "poisons."

[3] This is the only instance in which we are told by Couto of the infliction, by the Portuguese, of this horrible oriental punishment upon a criminal, though it is very probable that they resorted to it on many other occasions.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 327-8.

[5] The manuscript has "*cohoracone*." On p. 356 below the word is spelt *caraçone*. I cannot find the origin. It cannot be a mistake for *coracora*, which is a Malay war-vessel (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Coracoa").

opposite coast in order to go to Ceilaõ with some companions, who in company with Antonio de Brito reached the port of Columbo, where they were warmly welcomed by our people, and lodged at the most dangerous posts.

After this expedition the captain sent to attack Rajú's great *tranqueira* Antonio Lourenço, Francisco Gomes Leitaõ, Dom Joaõ *modeliar*[1], and the *araches* Manoel Pereira and Pero Afonso with their *lascarins*, who one morning suddenly attacked the first fort with many fire-lances and pots of powder, with which they made a way to get in, where they had a very perilous fight, which lasted for the space of an hour and a half, killing many of their people, and three captains and two bombardiers, and then retired without more harm than slight wounds. This being over, Francisco Gomes Leitaõ went out with thirty soldiers; and assaulting the enemy's bastion, they entered it by force of many lance thrusts and cuts, and killed many of their men; and as the enemy went on being reinforced they retired without danger, and on getting back to the fortress they went through an embrasure one by one; and the last of all, whom Fate would seem to have summoned for that hour, after they were inside, turned and went out again because the enemy had come near; and as Death summoned him, he said to his companions: "I must go out once again," and he did so at the moment when they fired at him a musket shot, of which he presently died. And on All Saints' Day, in another sally that our people made, the enemy swarmed on to the plain, and there began to open from our posts a fine play of bombard shots and harquebusery which made very good practice upon them, the whole plain being covered.

The affairs having passed, and many other assaults that our people made upon them daily with loss to the enemy, there arrived at Columbo on the 4th of November the ship in which Philippe de Carvalho had left with the provision[2], and brought a galleon that had set out from the Fishery laden with rice, which she found on the opposite coast almost lost, and went to her help, and assisted her continually, and brought her with her as far as that port without leaving her, and in sight of the coast of Ceilaõ they were both storm-stayed by the *cachaõ* wind, which beat down upon them very fiercely, and as it is there a cross-wind, at great risk they rode it out on their cables. This succour was to all as if sent from heaven,

[1] This is the third and last time that Konappu Bañḍára is mentioned in this Decade. For his subsequent history see *infra*, XI., Sum. of Events, p. 389 *et seq.*

[2] See *supra*, p. 343.

and Joaõ Correa de Brito sent and begged Philippe de Carvalho that he would not disembark that day, because he was that night expecting an attack from Rajú, and that he would remain guarding the port with the rest of the ships, so that the enemy's armada should not come and attempt the vessels and the ship in which had come the relief of that fortress. And because he was advised that Rajú was to deliver an assault that night he prepared to receive him; but he failed to deliver it on account of its raining heavily[1]; and on the following night in the daybreak watch he commanded to attempt the fortress by assault, which they did, bearing in front more than fifty mantelets made of thick mats in order to reach the wall, so that the stonemasons, who were more than a thousand, might undermine the walls, and others with ladders to attempt an entrance all round. As our people were on the alert, on observing the enemy each one took his place with his arms, discharging upon those below many pots of powder, with which they set fire to them; and where the attempt was made with greatest force was at the bastion of Santo Antonio, the captain of which was Luis Dorta, where the harquebusery was heavier and more ladders were set up; but our men so burnt them with fire and scathed[2] them with everything that came to their hand, that they made them quit the contest. Bernardim de Carvalho and the fidalgos of his company and Nuno Alvres Datouguia with the captains of his armada went to help at the parts that seemed to them most in need, encouraging those that were fighting, and doing it themselves with much spirit; and the captain[3] who was at the bastion of Madre de Deus with the captains of the round sent from there to see and learn the needs that existed anywhere, in order to provide for them. On the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ, the captain of which was Luis Correa da Silva, there was likewise a great attack, and there were found Vasco de Carvalho, who had embarked from Goa with Bernardim de Carvalho, in which he fought like a very good soldier. And on the bastion of Santo Estevaõ the labour was great, and on the stretch of wall adjoining it, because there they experienced a greater weight of the enemy, and these were undermining the wall: wherefore they hastened with much fire, but it fell upon the mantelets, and did not impede those beneath: the which

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[1] With this statement contrast that made at the end of chap. xi. below (p. 359).

[2] Couto is here alliterative, using in close sequence the words *escadas*, *escaldáram*, *escalavráram*.

[3] Estevão Correa (see *supra*, p. 295).

being seen by a soldier, Luis de Pina by name, getting astride on the top of the coping of the mud-wall with his body thrown outwards, he hurled upon the enemy many pots of powder, wherewith they were driving away those below[1], with which he did much harm; and afterwards with a fire-lance pointed downwards, on account of that part being low, he did so much, that setting the stonemasons on fire with it he made them withdraw and quit the work. The shouting and clamour and trumpetings of the elephants were more alarming than their arms, because in all parts there was so much of this, that it might have caused fear to anyone who had not so lost it as had our men, who knew how much more the Chingalas fight with the tongue than with the hands[2]; and nevertheless among the women and the wretched folk it inspired a terror, as they thought that the city had been entered, and from the windows with cries and lamentations to heaven they begged the divine favour, which our men not lacking, they so harassed the enemy, that after many times attacking suddenly at all parts, and the elephants trying to pull down the mud-walls, and the stonemasons to undermine them, until the day had fully dawned, they entirely gave over the assault, by going away well scathed, leaving in their hurry all the tackling that they had brought for scaling the walls; because when it was day there were found at the foot of them many picks, alavangas, mattocks, and many mantelets and ladders, all of which was brought inside. And it was presumed that they had killed many of them: as those that remain alive are obliged to carry off the dead, nothing was known amongst our people more than what the spies said afterwards, whom in this matter and in others I hold as very suspect, because at times they speak according to the wish of the captains, who delight in magnifying their affairs, chiefly in the certificates that they issue, in which there are always exact numbers, as if they had gone to count them. But nevertheless Rajú lost many men, and his people much credit with him, and he his hopes of taking Columbo, which he understood well that he could not do by assaults, since he knew that his people would never scale walls that Portuguese defended; but he wished to wear out our people by alarms, even though at the cost of his own men, because his intention was to bring his mines to some part where he might cause some breach, in order to enter by it to do them some harm.

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[1] The printed edition omits this clause.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 325.

Dec. X., Bk. x., Chap. x.

Of another message that the viceroy received regarding the strait of Columbo: and of how he sent in succour Joaõ Caiado de Gamboa in a ship with one hundred and fifty men:....

After the departure of the galleon of the voyage with the provisions, there arrived at Goa Bertolameu Rodrigues, whom the captain of Columbo had sent with another message to the viceroy regarding the first[1] assault that Rajú delivered upon that fortress, of which he brought a drawing, in order that he might see the mode of the enemy's fortification, and the force that he had brought against that fortress[2]: and on seeing that strength, the viceroy ordered to make ready a galleon, electing as captain of that succour, which was to consist of one hundred and fifty men, Joaõ Caiado de Gamboa, who making haste with his embarkation set sail on the 7th of October, there embarking with him many fidalgos and cavaliers who were lovers of honour, of whom the names that we have been able to learn are as follows: Dom Gilianes de Noronha and Dom Leaõ his brother, Dom Afonso Henriques, Hieronimo de Castro, Pero Botelho, Joaõ Sobrinho, Ruy Vas Pinto, Dom Fernando de Meneses, Simaõ da Silva, Christovaõ Rebello, Paullo Pimenta de Bulhaõ, Mathias da Fonseca, Manoel Pereira do Lago, Domingos Leitaõ Pereira, Balthesar de Freitas, and the same Bertholameu Rodrigues who came to beg for the succour: and taking ten thousand *pardáos* in money, and the galleon laden with provisions and munitions, they went pursuing their voyage[3]. ...... These galleys[4] set sail on the 20th of this month of October, and the viceroy continued to busy himself in the matter of Columbo, because it was agreed in council, as we have already said[5], that a large armada should be prepared, and that the captain-major who should go in it should wait in Columbo for Dom Paulo de Lima, who was to come from Malaca (as the viceroy had written to him), in order that both together with the whole force, which was the largest that India possessed, should attack the enemy and dislodge him: and as now the weather would not allow of this being possible before the end of January following[6], he began to prepare the things necessary for that expedition, nominating Manoel de Sousa

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[1] The manuscript omits this word.

[2] See *supra*, p. 319.

[3] The further progress of which is related in the next chapter.

[4] Two that the viceroy was sending to Cochin with certain orders.

[5] See *supra*, p. 335.

[6] The ships could not leave Malacca for India before the beginning of January, when the monsoon favourable for that voyage set in.

Coutinho for this enterprise[1] with the title of captain-major of the sea of India, on account of his being very experienced in the affairs of Ceilaõ, as the one who had been captain in Columbo five or six years before, and had sustained that great siege, which the same Rajú had laid to it, from which he emerged broken and defeated [2] : . . . . . .

DEC. X., BK. x., CHAP. xi.

. . . . . . *of how Manoel de Sousa went with an armada to the coast of the north : and of what happened on the journey to Joaõ Caiado de Gamboa until he arrived at Columbo : and of the things that further happened in that fortress.*

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Whilst occupied in getting ready the armada that he was to send to Ceilaõ, the viceroy received news that to the coast of the north had passed some Malavar ships intent on making prizes ; and because that coast was left to itself, and every day there came Portuguese ships from all those fortresses, he resolved that until the monsoon arrived in which Manoel de Sousa had to set out, which was at the end of January, he should spend that time on that coast, whereupon he continued fulfilling the duty of the armada that he was to send to it, because the rest of the summer he had ordered Dom Ruy Gomes da Silva to get ready with some ships in Baçaim in order to go about guarding the *cafilas* : and so he ordered Manoel de Sousa and the captains who were nominated to go with him in succour to Ceilaõ, and that he was to embark at once, whilst things were being got ready for the expedition, and that they should spend those two months on the coast of the north from Goa as far as Dabul. This armada set out in the middle of November, and spent the time on that coast until January, in which they returned in order to arrange for the expedition to Columbo : and as there happened nothing noteworthy, we have thus related this in sum.

Returning to Joaõ Caiado de Gamboa[3], he went pursuing his voyage, and in a few days passed Cape Comorim, and on the

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[1] See Linsch. ii. 197. In a letter dated 6 February 1589 (printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* i.) King Philip expresses his approval of all the viceroy had done for the relief of Columbo, including the sending of a fleet under Manoel de Sousa Coutinho.

[2] See *supra*, p. 257 ; p. 264, note [7].

[3] See previous chapter, p. 353.

other side met with winds contrary for being able to cross over to Columbo, it being already late; and taking the opinion of the pilot and the ships' officers, men of experience on that coast, all agreed that it would be a great risk in that weather to attempt to cross with the galleon : that a better plan would be for the men to disembark there and journey by land as far as Remanacor[1], and thence cross over to Manar, where they would find ships to get to Ceilaõ : and that in this, though there might be some more delay, was greater safety for anyone that was going to succour a fortress that was besieged. Upon this resolution they disembarked at Tutocori ; and having had an interview with the fathers of the Company, under whose administration in spiritual matters the whole of that coast lies[2], they gave them the same counsel, offering to supply them with all the boats and sailors that they should need to get to Manar. Upon this Joaõ Caiado got ready for the journey, and arranged to leave the galleon with twenty soldiers in guard, there being news of some galliots of Malavares ; but none of them wished to remain, saying that they were going in succour to the king's[3] fortress, and that they must reach there. Joaõ Caiado seeing that it was absolutely necessary for that galleon to remain there guarded, there being in her much artillery and provisions, won them over by means of fictions and fair words, prevailing upon them that it was absolutely necessary for that galleon to remain guarded[4] ; that those that were drawn by lot should remain ; and in this he so managed matters that only those were drawn that he thought he could most do without, and he appointed as captain Bertolameu Rodrigues : and he gave orders to the officers to go to Goa ; and having disembarked all the money and munitions that he could, they went marching by land to Remanacor, where the fathers were to have the boats for them to get to Manar. Those of the galleon were left disconsolate and disgusted ; and on the ship's officers' wishing to return to Goa, Bertolameu Rodrigues and the soldiers[5] came up and would not allow them to weigh the anchors, telling them that they must commend themselves to God ; because, even should they run the risk of being lost, they intended to try to get to Columbo to succour the king's fortress, which was in need, because in her were the provisions and munitions that the viceroy had sent in succour of

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[1] See *supra*, p. 96, note [3].

[2] As it had done since the time of Xavier.

[3] The manuscript omits " king's."

[4] The manuscript omits the words " that it was .... guarded," which are a mere repetition of those a few lines above.

[5] The manuscript omits " and the soldiers."

it[1]: that of more importance was it for that fortress to have them than the risking of the galleon: and that God was sure to be pleased to give them very good weather and bring them in safety, since they were going on a matter so much in his service; and so they let themselves lie there at anchor with a very fierce north-wind, which lasted three days. When these were past it changed, and turned fair for them, and Bertolameu Rodrigues caused sail to be set against the wish of the officers, who made their exclamations and protests, and they went running along the coast as far as the Island of the *Jogues*[2], and experiencing favourable weather, they forthwith crossed over to the other side, and on the next day came in sight of the opposite coast[3] near to the river Cardiva[4], and along the shore with the wind further off they went and anchored in Columbo to the joy of all, as they arrived before Joaõ Caiado. Bertolameu Rodrigues disembarked, and gave the captain an account of the expedition of Joaõ Caiado, and said that he might be there any day, upon which those in the fortress began to be of good cheer and to eat their fill of the food that had come in the galleon, the captain spreading the report that there were coming in the keeping of Joaõ Caiado twenty thousand cruzados, both thereby to break the spirit of the enemy as well as to hearten the soldiers, who if they are paid and well fed do not feel the toils or fear the dangers of war, however great they may be.

Joaõ Caiado, after reaching Remanacor, collected the *caraçones*[5] that seemed to him necessary for transporting all that force of men and *matériel*, which he did in a short time owing to the great assistance that the fathers of the Company had prepared for him; and because he had remained at the point of Remanacor, which is the last of the shoals, at the

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[1] The manuscript omits these last four words.

[2] In IV. VII. ix. Couto relates how, in 1531, "Manoel de Macedo by the bad navigation of his pilot got on the inner side of Cape Comorim without knowing where he was, and ran the ship aground on the sandbank of the Island of the *Jogues* in front of the town of Calecare, which is on the main land, before reaching the shoals of Chilao." The earliest map that I have seen that marks the island is that of Reland, *Nova Tabula Terrarum Cucan, Canara, Malabaria*, &c. (? 1710), in which is shown a chain of islets surrounded by sandbanks stretching from Kílakarai to Pâmban, to which is appended the description "I. dos Iogues of Pater Noster." I cannot exactly identify the island referred to by Couto.

[3] The printed edition omits the words "and ...... coast."

[4] "Cardiva" is Karaittívu, and the "river" is Portugal Bay (see *infra*, p. 393, and *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 157; and *cf. supra*, p. 104, note [3]).

[5] See *supra*, p. 349, note [5].

distance of a crossbow shot, he ordered the *caraçones* to be brought overland, in order to be on the other side outside of them, which was easily done, though with trouble, and there he embarked the next day, and set off and came to Manar, where Joaõ de Mello managed to get him a galliot, in which he embarked with those that she would hold, and the rest he divided amongst some provision boats that were there for Columbo, which agreed to go with him[1]; and in a large *champana*, which was also there laden with rice, he ordered Christovaõ Rebelo with some soldiers to embark, and with all these vessels Joaõ Caiado set sail, taking with him in his company Diogo Fernandes Pessoa, who, as we have said[2], in the first succour set out from Santo Thomé, and had been driven ashore there, where he had been until then sustaining his soldiers, without having suitable weather for leaving. With all this fleet Joaõ Caiado anchored at the bar of Columbo on the 4th of December; and the large *champana* in anchoring, by fault of the pilot, went so near to the land that in turning she struck thereon with her poop, and went to pieces; and it pleased God that the greater part of the men escaped on land, and the rest were lost, it being a dark night[3]: there were lost in her a thousand *candis* of rice, cloths, butter, and other things, which beside being a serious loss for the owners, who were bringing everything for sale, was one for that fortress, as with that it would have been well supplied with everything. But in spite of this that succour was much welcomed, owing to its being in charge of such a fidalgo and cavalier and consisting of so much provision as that *cafila* brought. And as the weather served for the ship of the voyage to return to India, Philipe de Carvalho, her captain, who till then had assisted in that fortress with all his soldiers, whom he messed, and took part in all the engagements that occurred during that time, told Joaõ Correa to provide the ship with a captain, as he intended to remain in that fortress with all his soldiers as long as the siege lasted, that for that reason he had accepted that voyage. Joaõ Correa was not willing to accept the compliment from him, and told him that it was necessary for him to return in the ship, both for the safety of the artillery that was in her, and to inform the viceroy of the state in which that fortress was; and although he repeated his request he would not consent to it, and made him embark and set sail on the 15th of December, that fortress being now in a position not only to defend itself against Rajú, but even to take the offensive

[1] The printed edition omits this clause.

[2] See *supra*, p. 320.

[3] The manuscript omits this clause.

and meet him in the field, and send and make war on him along all his coast.

And for that purpose he ordered to equip five foists, two *charatones*[1], and ten small *tones*, and appointed as captain-major Pero Afonso *arache*, a man of much experience of the whole of that coast, and gave him thirty Portuguese and one hundred and fifty *lascarins*, and ordered him to go in the direction of Galle, and to destroy and lay waste all Rajú's ports in that part. This fleet having left Columbo, they went to the point of Gale destroying everyhing that they came across, chiefly the villages of Berberi, Belicote[2]. and others; and turning the point of Gale to the further side they disembarked at the city of Beligaõ[3], where they wrought great destruction, and killed and captivated much people, and the *lascarins* committed very great cruelties on women and children, because, in order to get from them their earrings and bracelets, they cut off their ears and hands; and leaving everything burnt and plundered, they passed on to other places, which they proceeded to lay waste and destroy: and thus they spent the whole time that their provisions lasted; and when they were finished, they returned to Columbo laden with prizes, and with one hundred and eighty persons captives. As soon as Rajú learnt of it he blasphemed with rage and fury, seeing that our people, while being besieged, set so little store by him, that they went to destroy his towns and cities, with regard to which he did not know what resolution to come to: and fearing another expedition like that, he sent one day to call out to those in the fortress to tell the captain to send Pero[4] Baiaõ to him, as he had matters of importance to treat of with him: to which they did not reply to the purpose, because it was at once understood that these were diversions to embarrass our people.

At the same period, which was in December, a few days after the ship of the voyage had left, there appeared a new and cruel sickness, which was general among the people of the country: and it was so terrible, that, on account of the many that died, they thought that it was poison that they had cast into their wells, wherefore all went about affrighted. The disease commenced in the feet with a swelling, which went ascending to the legs, and thence to the belly, and to the breast, where, as

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[1] This word occurs also in VII. VIII. xi. I do not know its origin.

[2] So also in the manuscript; but it should be Belitote = Wẹlitoṭa or Wẹlitara, near Balapiṭiya (*cf.* p. 171).

[3] See *supra*, p. 266.

[4] Although both the manuscript and the printed edition have "Pero" or "Pedro," I think we ought to read "Jeronymo" (*cf. supra*, p. 321, and *infra*, p. 363).

soon as it touched the heart[1], it proved fatal, leaving those bodies deformed. And as the sickness was new in that country and not known, nor had ever been seen by the natives, the physicians made an anatomy on one of those bodies to see if they could understand the disease in order to cure it, because it was going on increasing greatly, and many were dying; and having viewed the intestines, they found the livers apostemated, and it was affirmed that that proceeded from the heat and humidity because of the great drought that prevailed, it not having rained the whole of that year[2], a thing that the old people could not remember the like[3]; and further to increase the disease, the *vara* of Choromandel[4] happened to discharge so much water that it was a deluge; and by the heat that was in the liver with that humidity of the earth, which was soaked, the bodies came to apostemate in that manner. And the disease being understood, they applied remedies of cold and dry things, like vinegar, with which they mitigated it; and this lacking, they made use of a fruit which they call *gorsas*[5], which has the same virtue, and with some other herbs; but as this also came to be exhausted, there did not fail to die many; but it pleased God that it was wretched and miserable folk, and the disease lasted but a short time, for it soon ceased.

Dec. X., Bk. x., Chap. xii.

...... *of how Dom Paulo sent Simaõ de Abreu de Mello with news of the victory to the viceroy: and of how he was wrecked on the coast of Ceilaõ: and of the troubles that he underwent.*

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Simaõ de Abreu de Mello set out from Malaca[6], and in five days made landfall of the islands of Nicobar, and there he made fast in the full of the moon, and took in water; and

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[1] The printed edition omits "the heart."

[2] But see *supra*, p. 351.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 35, and Ribeiro's statement in C. A. S. Jl. xii. 94.

[4] See *supra*, p. 31, note [3].

[5] Both the manuscript and the printed edition read so, but the word should be "*gorcas*" = gorakas, the fruit of the *Garcinia Cambogia*, which is of a pleasant subacid flavour. The bark and leaves of the tree are used therapeutically by the Sinhalese, but not the fruit, as far as I can find.

[6] At the beginning of December 1587, bearing letters from D. Paulo de Lima to the viceroy and the city of Goa apprising them of the victory he had gained over the king of Johor (see Linsch. ii. 198–200).

resuming his journey, he went following his course ; but as the weather was still very tempestuous, they met with such great counterseas, that they were many times on their beam-ends and all awash, and for seven days continuously they experienced such great storms, that there was no one that thought any longer of anything but God, nor did they eat save a very little of something ; and like men stupefied and who now took no more account of themselves, they went expecting every hour that the galliot would founder. And being in this plight and desperation, on Christmas eve at eleven o'clock in the day[1] they sighted land, which the pilot thought to be Negapatañ, in which he deceived himself, and so they made for it, because they were in such a condition that they considered that it would be safer for them to run aground on whatever place it might be than to go on ; and running the prow on land, they stranded on it with such heavy seas, that on the beach the roll of the water immediately overwhelmed them, and the waves carried those that had most intrepidity on land, where they were like to have been dashed to pieces, and others having lost heart were unable to save themselves, and thus were lost ten soldiers and some servants. The rest having got ashore, joining with the sailors, who were forty in number, all of them, both the ones and the others, naked and bare, and having nothing to eat, began to walk alongside the sea, thinking that it was towards Negapatañ, according to the pilot's calculation. And all that night they never rested, but kept on walking ; and when day broke they came across some blacks, of whom they had speech, and learnt that they were in the kingdom of Jafanapatañ at the extremity of the island of Ceilañ, because they had been wrecked five leagues from Triquimale towards Jafanapatañ[2] ; and if instead of striking land five leagues on this side they had struck five leagues on the other side, not a single person would have escaped, because all that part was under the rule of Rajú[3]. And giving thanks to God for delivering them from the hands of that tyrant, they went on journeying with much trouble, naked and bare, because the best equipped was Simañ de Abreu, who made a hole in the middle of an old mat that he found, and put it over his head, it covering him like a *sambenito*[4]. And during all this time

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[1] The manuscript has " at night," which seems improbable.

[2] The ship must therefore have been wrecked somewhere near Kuchchavéli.

[3] Perhaps the Virgil-âṛu formed the northern boundary of Rája Siṅha's dominions on the east coast.

[4] The garment put upon persons condemned by the inquisition to be burnt (see plate in Morse Stephens's *Portugal* 293).

they ate nothing but herbs and jungle fruits, having no better lodging to repose in than the open field and the earth soaked with much water, as it rained every day: whereby they all became so weakened, that had it not been for the courage and natural disposition of Simaõ de Abreu, most of them would have perished on that journey: for he helped each one in his troubles just as if he were not undergoing them likewise, strengthening them and encouraging them, and assisting them so much, that one of the company having fallen down through being able to bear up no longer, begging him with hands raised to leave him there, he prepared for him a hand-barrow of four pieces of wood crossed, and asked the sailors to carry him, and he was the first that laid hold of it and took it on his shoulders. What gave much trouble to these shipwrecked people was the many and great lakes that they crossed[1], which detained them much; and going so one day there was left behind, as already dead, a soldier, who had been carried thither by a brother, who likewise could no longer bear up: which Simaõ de Abreu learning of made them all halt, and he went back alone with some sailors, and consoled[2] and comforted him, reminding him to commend himself to God, and so he made him rise. Eight days having passed of this affliction, they reached some villages[3], where the natives detained them and treated them well, and sent a message to the king of Jafanapataõ, who at once sent for them, and received them very humanely, commanding them to be provided with everything in great abundance[4]; and after recovering strength they went to Manar[5]; and Joaõ de Mello, who was captain, gave them a ship, in which they left for Cochim, and reached that city on the 8th of January, ... Simaõ de Abreu de Mello,

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[1] As they kept near to the seashore they had to cross the mouths of the various *kalapu* or backwaters as well as of the numerous rivers.

[2] The manuscript by an oversight omits "and he went back ...... consoled."

[3] This would be at the beginning of January 1588. Perhaps by the "some villages" are meant Mullaittívu and its adjacent villages.

[4] This statement is difficult of credence. The king of Jaffna reigning at this time was anything but a friend of the Portuguese; and a few years later (in 1591) a Portuguese force under André Furtado de Mendoça landed at Mannár, marched on Jaffna, and defeated and killed the king and his heir, the second son being set upon the throne as a vassal of the king of Portugal (see *infra*, pp. 393–4). I rather think that it must have been some underling of the king's who showed kindness to Simão de Abreu's company.

[5] Whether by sea or by land does not appear.

after giving the letters for the kingdom[1], left for Goa, and gave the viceroy and the city the news of the victory, ... With this good news the viceroy was relieved and better able to attend to the affairs of Ceilaõ : and he at once ordered to press forward with the fleet of Manoel de Sousa, which was to go in succour.

DEC. X., BK. x., CHAP. xiii.

Of the events that occurred during this time in Columbo: and of the assaults that Rajú delivered on that fortress : and of what took place therein.

Joaõ Correa de Brito, knowing that Rajú was cast down at the little that he had effected in that siege, and at the great damage that he had received from our people, endeavoured to break his spirit altogether, and to drive him to desperation by waging war upon him in all his ports, to which end he ordered Thomé de Sousa de Arronches to go with six ships and four *tones* beyond the point of Galle, and destroy the whole coast on the other side, without leaving anything standing. The captains who accompanied him in the ships were, his brother Diogo[2] Alvres, Diogo Gonsalves, Miguel Ferreira[3] Baracho, Belchior[4] Rebelo, and André Botelho. In these ships went one hundred and ten Portuguese, and in the *tones* sixty *lascarins*, and the captain of these was Diogo[5] Pereira *arache*.

Of this armada Rajú was soon advised : and fearing that it would do him great harm in his ports, and also because in truth he was weary of the war, he sought to sound the captain in order to see if he would offer him peace, which he desired greatly ; and as all these heathens live by opinion, considering that it was to his prejudice, there being in his camp the ambassadors of several kings, friends of his, with whom he desired to maintain his credit[6], without telling what he had determined, save to one person, beyond whom the secret of that affair was not to go, he sent by him to throw some *olas*

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[1] Letters he had written to the king of Portugal announcing the victory at Johor : the homeward-bound ships were on the point of leaving Cochin.

[2] Both the manuscript and the printed edition have "Diogo" for "Rodrigo" (*cf. supra*, X. x. v., p. 328, and p. 370 below).

[3] The manuscript has "Ferraõ."

[4] The manuscript has "Balthezar."

[5] Both the manuscript and the printed edition have "Diogo"; but in chap. xv. below he is twice (pp. 370, 375) called "Domingos."

[6] Who these "kings" were, we are not told : they were probably ome of the rájas of Southern India.

into the fortress with arrows, in which he begged the captain to send him Hieronymo Bayaõ, as he had a matter of importance to treat of with him[1]. He conducted this business in this secrecy, in order, if the captain sent this man, to make the ambassadors believe that he had sent him to ask for peace, and that he begged him for mercy; and if the captain desired to make it[2], a way would thereby be opened up for that. These *olas* were found and carried to Joaõ Correa, who did not fail to see through the subterfuge of Rajú, and in order to humiliate him did not reply to him to the purpose: affronted by which, he determined to deliver a general assault upon the fortress, for which purpose he got ready his whole force, and used every expedient that he could, and on the 10th of January of this year 1588, upon which by the divine favour we enter, in the daylight watch[3] he appeared in great silence before our fortress, and completely surrounded it, having divided the bastions and posts amongst his *modeliares*, who already knew the parts that they had to attack: and so at one and the same time they came and set up the ladders against them, because Rajú's intention was to see if his men could find some post so unprepared that by it they could enter the fortress. And this was done with so little noise, that they were not perceived until they had already ascended the ladders, and the first part where they showed themselves was the post of Joaõ Caiado on the bastion of Santo Estevaõ, and in the *couraça*, where was Dom Luis Mascarenhas. These awakening seized their arms, and hastened to the defence at the moment when the enemy had just thrown inside some pots of powder; and well they paid for it, for these captains harried them, and made many of them lose their lives, and the remainder their pride. In the other parts where they also appeared they found our men already with their arms in their hands to impede them. The turmoil was soon heard throughout the whole fortress, and the captain hastened to the bastion of Madre de Deus in order thence to provide for everything; and Bernardim de Carvalho with his soldiers went hastening to the parts that seemed to them most in need, and the same did Nuno Alvres Datouguia: and in such manner did our men make the enemy experience that boldness, that with a few blows they threw them down from the ladders cut to pieces, and all so harried that they did not dare to attempt the ascent,

[1] *Cf. supra*, pp. 321, 358.

[2] The printed edition has "if the captain failed to make it," which appears incorrect.

[3] By a stupid error the printed edition has "in the watch (or quarter) of the moon."

and withdrew leaving many dead and burnt at the foot of the bastions and posts. Rajú was greatly exasperated at this, and determined to batter the fortress, and to knock down all the walls, for which purpose he commanded to be brought many pieces of bronze artillery and some that threw balls of cast iron of forty-four pounds weight; and levelling them against the bastions of Saõ Gonçalo and Saõ Miguel, he commenced to batter them for three days continuously, without doing more than knocking to pieces the roof of the bastion of Saõ Gonçalo. This uproar created fear in the miserable folk, who had never seen another such earthquake.

This last day of the battering was on the 15th of January, and until the 27th he made preparations for delivering another general assault, into which he determined to put all his strength: and so on that day in the daylight watch he commanded to attempt[1] the bastions of Saõ Gonsalo and Saõ Miguel from the direction of Mapano, and the rest from other directions. This onset was one of great determination, and accompanied by such great reverberations, shouts, and screams of the elephants, that it seemed as if the world were being dissolved. The captains of the posts on hearing the noise at once took their arms in their hands and prepared to receive the enemy. The elephants came to the walls of the bastion of Saõ Gonsalo, which were of mud, and threw their trunks upon them to pull them down; but our people cast upon them so much fire that they made them withdraw. On the bastion of Saõ Sebastiaõ the attack was greater, because it was taken in hand by the captain of the *atapata* or king's guard, with all the troops under his command, who were picked men, and with Rajú's banners. Here the trouble was great, because our *lascarins* on seeing near the bastion those banners and devices immediately lost heart and began to retire. At that moment there arrived there Nuno Alvres Datouguia with his soldiers; and seeing the strait in which that bastion was, he threw himself into it and secured it, fighting with great valour and encouraging all to do the same. The captain of the fortress had the captains of the rounds distributed throughout all parts in order to advise him of what happened; and for everything of which he was advised he at once provided with much care. Bernardim de Carvalho and Joaõ Caiado de Gamboa with all the fidalgos and captains that were with them assisted in their positions those that held them, and the others wherever they thought there was the greatest need. In the bastion of Saõ Gonsalo fighting went on very vigorously, because upon it fell the weight of the enemy

[1] The manuscript, by the copyist's carelessness, omits a line here.

and the elephants; and it pleased God that a falcon was discharged from the bastion, which was so well aimed, that it killed three elephants and wounded six very badly, as it carried a cartouche of stones. So that in all parts they harried the enemy, both with arms and with fire, in such fashion that only through shame and fear of Rajú they did not withdraw[1]. In the bastion of Santiago, the captain of which was Antonio Guerreiro, and in the ravelin that was above the point[2], in which was Paulo Pimenta[3], there was very great danger, because it was attacked by several *modeliares* with a large force; but they defended themselves very valorously, although the ravelin was in great straits, and the report spread that the enemy had entered by it, upon which Dom Gilianes de Noronha hastened with his soldiers, and placed himself above the gates, because some elephants were there, placing their foreheads against them in order to force them in, and with fire-lances our men burnt them and made them withdraw and turn upon their own people, whom they went treading under with the pain of the fire. And not to particularize so many things, or to name in particular all the captains and soldiers that did heroic deeds, because all did so much that there would be something to write of them, we shall pass over this, because the glory was everyone's, and all did so much that after the battle had lasted two hours they made the enemy withdraw disorganized, defeated; and when the morning dawned, everywhere our people saw the whole plain strewn with dead bodies, and it was affirmed that nearly a thousand were those that perished in the battle, besides the wounded, who must have been many. The enemy having withdrawn, the captain ordered all the bastions to be decked with flags, and the artillery to be discharged, and the bells rung out in token of victory, because only one man was lost. With this Rajú was reduced to utter despair, and thought that the idols were offended with him; and presently when it dawned our people found inside the city and on top of the houses a great quantity of pots with the matches alight, without their breaking when thrown on the hard ground, the which was ascribed to a miracle; and both for this and for the victory all gave many thanks to our Lord.

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[1] The printed edition erroneously reads "withdraw from the bastion," &c., and has a semicolon after "Guerreiro." I follow the reading of the manuscript.

[2] The manuscript has "above the gate." This being the only mention of the ravelin, I am uncertain as to the "point" above which it stood.

[3] Paulo Pimenta de Bulhão, one of the knights that came from Goa with João Caiado de Gamboa (see *supra*, p. 353).

DEC. X., BK. x., CHAP. xiv.

Of the matters for which Dom Paulo de Lima made provision in Malaca before leaving for Goa : and of how the viceroy sent Manoel de Sousa to Ceilaõ : and of what Thomé de Sousa de Arronches did in the villages of Rajú.

By the ships that left Goa at the end of the past September, as we have already said[1], which arrived at Malaca at the beginning of November, Dom Paulo de Lima received letters from the viceroy, in which he requested him to make haste and rid himself of the affairs of that fortress as quickly as he could, and to go with all his armada to Columbo, in order, with the captain of the city and whomever he should send in succour, to attack the enemy, and that in Columbo he would find full instructions regarding what he had to do. On the setting in of the monsoon[2], Dom Paulo set about concluding the affairs of that fortress, ... ; and making temporary arrangements in connection with all other business, he took leave of the city on the 24th of January, in which we now are, and set sail, having given orders to all the captains of his armada that if they got separated from him they were to go[3] and wait for him at Columbo, whither he was to go, the viceroy having so commanded him, and they went pursuing their voyage, of which we shall give an account further on[4], in order to return to the affairs of Goa.

Manuel de Sousa Coutinho having returned from the coast of the north, as we have said[5], the viceroy at once equipped him for going in succour to Ceilaõ, and dispatched him with full instructions that he gave him : and the chief was, that as soon as he reached Columbo he was to wait for the armada from Malaca, in order, with the captain of the city and Dom Paullo de Lima, in whose judgment and courage and good fortune he had great confidence, to attack the enemy and raise the siege of that city, without there being amongst them any precedence, all of them observing the decorum that was due to each, to one as captain-major of that succour and to the other as captain of that city, all of which he left to their prudence, because in any other way would be lost so great an opportunity as that which was expected from that expedition, in which lay the retrieval

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[1] See *supra*, p. 335.

[2] See *supra*, p. 353, note [6].

[3] The printed edition has " that they were to separate from him and go."

[4] Couto does not exactly fulfil this promise, only informing us in chapters xvi. and xvii. below (pp. 377, 385) of the arrival at Columbo of the ships.

[5] See *supra*, X. x. xi., p. 354.

of that fortress and of the whole of India. All being ready and in order, the viceroy caused Manoel de Sousa to set sail on the 4th of February with two galleys, in one of which went the captain-major, and in the other Dom Jeronimo Dazevedo, and sixteen foists, the captains of which were Diogo de Sousa, Clemente Daguiar, Ambrosio Leitaõ, Nuno Alvres Pereira, Simaõ Rolim, Fradique Carneiro, Manoel de Macedo[1], Simaõ Brandaõ, Pedro Velloso, Joaõ de Sousa, Manoel Cabral da Veiga, Miguel da Maia, Manoel Froes, Francisco Martins Marinho, Gonsalo Fernandes Coutinho, and Dom Felipe prince[2] of Candia[3]: in all these ships there went six hundred men, all picked soldiery of India, and many young fidalgos *reinões*[4]. Having set sail, they went pursuing their journey with fair weather, on which we shall leave them[5] in order to continue with other matter.

Thomé de Sousa de Arronches having set out from Columbo with the six ships and four *tones* to wage all the war he could along the whole coast of Ceilaõ[6], the first place at which he disembarked was one called Coscore[7], which they burnt[8], and captivated eleven persons, among whom was a Chingala young woman lately married; and after having completed their work they embarked. Being on the point of leaving, there came in great haste a sturdy Chingala man, who seemed a rustic, and without waiting for anything got into one of those ships in which that Chingala woman was; and betaking himself to her, they embraced each other with many tears[9],

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[1] The manuscript, by an oversight, omits the names that follow, down to "Cabral."

[2] The manuscript has the absurd blunder "Pereira."

[3] This is the only place in the Tenth Decade in which this man is mentioned. Whether or not his flight from Kandy in 1580 was related by Couto in his stolen Ninth Decade we cannot tell (see *supra*, p. 258); but that the lost Eleventh Decade contained a good deal about the prince we may be certain (see *infra*, p. 389, note [4]).

[4] "Griffins," in Anglo-Indian parlance (see *Hob.-Job. s. vv.* "Griffin" and "Reinol").

[5] Couto returns to them in chap. xvi. (p. 376) *infra*.

[6] See the beginning of the preceding chapter (p. 362).

[7] The manuscript has "Coscori." Kosgoḍa is meant.

[8] In X. x. xi. (p. 358) we were told of a force under the command of the árachchi Pero Affonso destroying Béruwala, Wẹlitoṭa, and other places as far as and including Wẹligama. We shall now read of Thomé de Sousa's armada's completing the work of destruction as far as and including Dondra.

[9] The printed edition adds "and lamentation."

upon which the captain of the ship hastened thither; and asking what that was, one who spoke the language told him that that man was the husband of that woman, and that he was not in the village when they captivated her; and that hastening thither, learning that the Portuguese had carried off his wife, he rushed like a madman to the vessels, and got on board that in which he saw her, and caressed her tenderly. The captain of the ship told the affair to Thomé de Sousa, and as it was a remarkable thing, he went to see it with his own eyes. and found them both embraced and uttering lamentations; and asking a Chingala Christian who was listening to them what that was, and what he was saying to her, he told him that on that man's coming to his wife he clasped her in his arms in that manner, and spoke to her these words: "God grant that never may I, with you going captive[1], remain free, but that both may have a like fortune: be you captive of the Portuguese, and I your captive, and for love of you, because thus shall the captivity of both be easier and[2] more sufferable, because love will alleviate for us its trials;" and that she with many tears answered him: "Now that I see this, I count myself the most fortunate of all the Chingalas: today you have placed a crown on yourself, and on me a very strong fetter of love and loyalty, which as long as I live shall hold me a prisoner." Thomé de Sousa was moved with pity at what the interpreter said he had heard from them, and at seeing that these two lovers were so wrapped up in their dalliances that they neither saw the captain[3] nor paid any attention to him; and the captain astonished at that strength and constancy of love in those two barbarians, and understanding well that it was not any kind of love that made him do that, but a very great force of it, which was what made a free man of his own accord offer himself to captivity, moved to pity by that act, made them rise, and taking them by the hands ordered to say to them: "God grant that never might two such good spouses, who loved each other so, be any more parted, nor have greater captivity than the tie in which love had placed them; that he liberated them, that they might go happily, and might they live as long as God pleased in that agreement": and they understanding that through the interpreter threw themselves at his feet, and said, "that since he showed that

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[1] The printed edition has "seeing you captive."

[2] The printed edition omits these two words.

[3] The printed edition has "captain-major." The reference may be to either Thomé de Sousa or the captain of the ship in which the scene occurred.

humanity towards them they likewise did not wish to show themselves ungrateful for so great a favour: that of their own free will they wished to go and live in Columbo, in order both of them to serve him there and thereafter in every place whither he might go." The captain ordered him to remain in the ship, and strongly enjoined on her captain to treat them very well, and afterwards he made use of the husband as a spy, in which he always found him very faithful, both while he was there and afterwards in Columbo, where he always lived.

Now let the poets fable as much as they like in order to show the world the great proof of love that many have made: because these two barbarians surpassed all that they have painted, and all that they have put in hell, suffering anguish for love; and the incident when they told it to us caused us such great envy; and even afterwards when we wrote this, the tongue was dumb, the pen shrank, and the understanding was embarrassed at not being able to extol it with that gravity and style that so great and such unusual love merits: and so we desist, because those smitten with love know better how to feel this than we to write it.

Dec. X., Bk. x., Chap. xv.

Of the great assaults that Thomé de Sousa further made along that coast: and of how he destroyed the city and pagode *of Tanevare*[1].

Thomé de Sousa de Arronches having left this village of Coscore put in to another lower down called Madama[2], which he destroyed and put to fire and sword, and burnt two *pagodes* that it had, much visited by pilgrims amongst them[3]. From here he turned towards Galle, and disembarked at a place called Guindurem[4] in the third watch of the night in order to fall unawares upon Gale, which is one of Rajú's chief

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[1] The printed edition has "Tancuarem."

[2] Faria y Sousa (*Asia Port.* III. i. vi. 17) has "Madania." Apparently the place intended is Mádampé near Ambalangoḍa.

[3] These dágabas do not seem to be mentioned in the *Mahávaṇsa.*

[4] The printed edition has "Guidurem," and the manuscript "Gurudurem." Gintara (Gintoṭa) is meant. The place seems to have been of some importance in the twelfth century (see *Maháv.* lxxv. 24).

towns[1], and from there dispatched his brother Rodrigo Alvres[2], Diogo Gonsalves, and Miguel Ferreira with eighty soldiers, and with them the *arache* Domingos Pereira with his *lascarins*, and ordered them to conceal themselves near the fort[3] of Gale; and that when they heard a signal, which he was to give them from the sea, they were to attack the fort. These captains were guided by two spies whom they captured, and whom they took with them in leash; and before reaching the fort they hid themselves, and let themselves remain in perfect silence. Thomé de Sousa soon came with his armada and cast anchor at the point of Gale; and a little before daybreak he disembarked on land with all the rest of the men that he carried, and gave a signal by means of some bombard shots to those that were in hiding, who on hearing the signal attacked the *tranqueira* from the inland side, and Thomé de Sousa attacked the other, because the *tranqueiras* are like two bastions, which run from one to the other. And taking the enemy by surprise, although they experienced great resistance from them, the *tranqueiras* were entered, and many of the enemy killed, and all the rest fled whithersoever they could, leaving the *tranqueiras* in the hands of our people, who remained there three days, during which they burnt the town, which was very large, and in which were several warehouses of goods: and they also cut down all the oarts and palm-groves that were round about it, and all the boats that were beached, and leaving everything destroyed, reduced to dust and ashes, they demolished the *tranqueiras*, and burnt them, and returned to the vessels laden with prizes; all of which they did without its costing them more than some wounds.

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[1] In the wholesale extermination of Christians and destruction of churches, &c., in the coast towns on the south-west of Ceylon by Vídiye Rája in 1554-5, as related by Couto on p. 170, *supra*, the Portuguese settlement at Galle, of which we were told on p. 145, appears to have come to an end, and the place to have reverted to the sole occupation of the natives. From 1587 onwards we find King Philip writing to the viceroy of India on the advisability of building a fortress on Galle point and having a fleet of eight foists cruising about there in order to keep the course clear, Rája Siŋha being reported as having some armed ships there for the purpose of attacking Portuguese vessels coming from Bengal and the Further East (see *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 108, 217, 255, 373). It was not until 1595, however, that a fort was erected (see *infra*, p. 404).

[2] The manuscript has "Gonsalves."

[3] This was a Siŋhalese fort, or stockade, erected, probably by Rája Siŋha's orders, to prevent the Portuguese from once more obtaining a footing in Galle.

And as the captain-major determined to fall unawares upon the city of Beligaõ[1], which is four leagues from there, he ordered Miguel Ferreira with his soldiers and the *araches* with their *lascarins* to go thence from Galle by land along the sea always in sight of the ships; and Thomé de Sousa went following the course of the seashore until they reached the city in the daybreak watch; and those that had gone by land attacking it, and Thomé de Sousa, who immediately disembarked, on the side facing the shore, and taking the enemy unprepared, the city was entered, and at once set on fire, that our people might not be impeded, the greater part of which was consumed, and the inhabitants withdrew[2] and fled inland. There our people remained that day making search in the city, in which they found some prizes[3]. At night Thomé de Sousa ordered the same Miguel Ferreira to go in his ship up the river, and fall unawares by night upon a village, to which those that escaped from Beligaõ had retired[4]. Having arrived there, Miguel Ferreira went to attack; but as they were already on the alert, and there were some Moors there, he found such resistance of bombard and firelock shots, that he was forced to return to the armada. Next day[5] Thomé de Sousa went with the whole armada up the river, and in the daybreak watch attempted the disembarkation, giving the van to his brother Rodrigo Alvres and the *araches*; and having got on land, although there were many bombard shots, they attacked a *tranqueira* that stood at the entrance to the village, in which were the Moors; but our men by dint of firelock shots and cuts entered it, and the Moors retreated to a bridge[6] that lies across the river in order to bar the passage to our people, who went after them, whereupon they had a very sharp fight, in which many of the enemy were killed, and in spite of them they drove them thence, and captured the bridge from them, and went following in pursuit of them for the space of half a league. They being totally defeated, our people entered the village, in which they found three houses, one full of iron, which they threw into the sea, and the others

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[1] The manuscript has "Biligaõ."

[2] The printed edition has "*desprezáram*" (despised), an error, apparently, for *despejáram*. The manuscript wants these two words.

[3] That they did not get more was due, doubtless, to the fact that only four years previously the town had been burnt by the Portuguese under Pedro Homem Pereira, much valuable merchandise perishing in the flames (see *supra*, p. 266).

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 265, note [3]; p. 266, note [6].

[5] The manuscript omits these words.

[6] The printed edition has "point."

of saltpetre and cables and cordage, to all of which they set fire in order that they might not benefit the enemy.

Here they remained several days, during which they delivered some assaults on the neighbouring villages, to which they did great damage: and having done this, they proceeded to the river of Melipu[1], which was further on, in which they disembarked, and captured a *tranqueira*[2], and set fire to the village[3], which was entirely abandoned to them. And as the city of Mature, which was half a league up the river, was very prosperous in merchants and goods[4], he thought to give the

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[1] The manuscript has "Miliseu," and the printed edition "Meliseu," which I have altered to "Melipu," the name by which, in Portuguese and Dutch times, the Nilwalá-gaṅga seems to have been known (see Val. *Ceylon* 33, 36; *C. Lit. Reg.* v. 116). The origin of this name I do not know: perhaps it is Siṇh. *mili* (black, dark, or dark blue) + *upul* (lotus), or *nilipul* (blue lotus).

[2] Tennent, in his well-known work on Ceylon, has, when dealing with the Portuguese period, committed many gross errors, owing to his ignorance of the Portuguese language. One of the worst of these occurs in his remarks on this passage in Couto. He says (*Ceylon* ii. 434):—"They [the "Malabar" invaders] do not appear to have molested or wantonly destroyed the village tanks; (in fact, the only recorded instance of the deliberate destruction of works for irrigation was by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century);" to substantiate which assertion he appends the following footnote:—"This event took place during the siege of Colombo by Raja Singha II. [*sic*], A.D. 1587 [*sic*], when Thomé de Sousa d'Arronches was dispatched to make a diversion by ravaging the southern coast of Ceylon. De Couto recounts, amongst other atrocities then perpetrated, that after sacking the town of Bellegam, a party was sent [*sic*] to a river which he calls the Meliseu, where they halted [*sic*] *and destroyed the water-courses for irrigating the rice-lands* [! ! !], 'no qual desembarcáram e tomaram huma tranqueira.' *Asia*, dec. x., ch. xv., vol. vi., pt. 2, p. 652; Faria y Souza [*sic*], *Portuguese* [*sic*] *Asia*, vol. iii., p. 53." The statement in italics, I may say, is so printed in the fifth edition of Tennent's book, the earlier editions having "*and destroyed the tank*;" and the quotation of Couto's *ipsissima verba* only makes Tennent's statement more ridiculous. The citation in evidence of Faria y Sousa (the reference is in reality to Stevens's translation) is a piece of carelessness or of dishonesty, since that writer says absolutely nothing of the incident.

[3] This village I cannot identify.

[4] Mátara does not seem to be mentioned in the *Mahávaṇsa*. The earliest reference in the *Rájávaliya* is apparently that on p. 83 detailing events of the year 1555; and on p. 86 of the same history we read of "strong fortresses" being built (*circa* 1558) by the Portuguese and Dharmapála's forces in the "Mátara district." These must have been abandoned soon afterwards.

soldiers a sack[1], and one day in the daybreak watch he went and attacked it; and although they met with great resistance they entered it at the cost of the lives of many of the enemy, and the captain-major ordered it to be set fire to in several parts, whereby the greater part was consumed, after the soldiers had sacked what seemed best to them, and inside it they burnt three very handsome *pagodes* and a house full of cinnamon, and captivated one hundred and ten persons, and burnt a vessel of three hundred *candis* that was in the river. Having done this, they returned to the vessels, without having lost more than one soldier, for whom no one in the fleet could account, nor was it known if he had been killed, or if he had remained in the houses in order to loot[2].

And as our people continued victorious, they were not willing that there should escape the *pagode* of Tanavar[3] half a league from this city, the most celebrated and most resorted to by pilgrims of all in the island, excepting that of Adam's Peak[4], the which in structure resembled a beautiful city, having a circuit of a full league[5]. The body of this *pagode* was very great, all vaulted above, with much workmanship, and around it many most beautiful chapels, and above the principal gateway it had a very high and strong tower, with the roof all of copper gilt in many parts, the which stood in the midst of a square cloister, very beautifully and finely wrought, with its verandas and terraces, and in each square a handsome gateway for its entrance, and all around was full of flower-pots, delicate flowers, and fragrant herbs for their *pagode*[6] to enjoy himself with when they drew him in procession[7] along that way. This *pagode* has within the enclosure very fine streets, in which live persons of every occupation, and the chief of these is of women dedicated to the service of

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[1] The printed edition has "surfeit."

[2] We shall hear of him again at the end of the chapter.

[3] In printed edition "Tanaverem."

[4] *Cf. supra*, V. vi. iii. (p. 118).

[5] See *supra*, p. 33, note [3]. The description that follows is of value, in view of the destruction of this famous temple. A comparison of this description with that in the *Paravisandēṣa*, which depicts the place as it appeared in the first half of the fifteenth century (see Alwis's *Des. Cat.* 219), would be of interest. Ibn Batúta, who visited Dóndra in 1344, gives a very meagre description of the temple, probably because of his being a Musalmán (see C. A. S. Jl. 1882, Extra No. 55–6).

[6] Here the word *pagode* is applied to the idol (in this case that of Vishṇu), the Portuguese and other old writers using it in both senses (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Pagoda").

[7] Towards the end of the chapter the car in which the idol was drawn about is described.

the *pagode*. On account of the sumptuousness of the work, and according to what passes from mouth to mouth among the old people, they affirm it to have been made by the Chins[1], and that in that city there dwelt a Chim, who was lord of all that coast on the further side, and thus the *pagode* is of the fashion of the *varellas* of China, and because of it this city is largely populated and frequented by strangers, wherefore our people surmised it to be very rich.

The captain-major embarked on the armada, and went along the coast in order to go and attack it: and the same day that he embarked there worked up a thunderstorm, which broke accompanied by a cross wind, so furious that the ships were well-nigh lost, and if it had lasted long (for it did not exceed two hours) without doubt they could not have escaped. The heathen *lascarins* who were embarked with the captain-major in his ship, and some that served as spies, whilst the tempest lasted set themselves to talk one with another, and in such manner, that the captain-major observed them, and asked what they were talking about, upon which a Christian told him that those heathens were glad, because their *pagode* had hastened to maintain his honour; and that knowing that the Portuguese were going to insult him, he had sent that storm to chastise them. This superstition was a very ancient one amongst them: for as that coast lies facing the cross wind[2], and the sea there is continually high, and some thunderstorms work up, it happened sometimes when armadas of Portuguese were going by there, that it was in conjunction with the raging of these storms, upon which they withdrew from the land and retired, wherefore that illusion remained of their holding among themselves that the *pagode* arranged that, so that the Portuguese armadas might not reach land: and this was the cause of that city's being so populated, they thinking that there they were secure from the assaults of our fleets. Thomé de Sousa, as soon as the Christian *lascarins* related this to him, swore to destroy that *pagode*, in order to rid the imagination of the heathens of that superstition[3], so that they might see how deceived they had been, and the little that their idol could do: and so when the tempest was past, on the next day in the morning he put in to land, and went ashore, giving

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[1] The printed edition has "Cherins." Barros also (p. 33) gives credence to this fable of a Chinese origin for Dondra.

[2] In place of "facing the cross wind" the manuscript has "to the cross wind of the west."

[3] The manuscript here reads: "por tirar aquella abusaõ da jura grauissima dos gentios e imaginaçaõ"; but, as this does not seem to make sense, I have followed the printed version.

the van to Rodrigo Alvres, and with them Miguel Ferreira[1] Baracho, and Domingos Pereira *arache*; and the first thing they did was to attack a *tranqueira* that they had on the beach on a hillock, the which our people took by force of blows to the hurt of the enemy; and leaving some soldiers to guard it, Thomé de Sousa proceeded to march on the city, which they attacked with great determination; and the inhabitants, not trusting in the guardianship of their *pagode*, on seeing the Portuguese abandoned the city, and betook themselves inland. Our people proceeded to enter it without encountering any resistance, and reaching the *pagode* broke open the gates, and entered it without meeting with anyone to resist them, and went all round it to see if they found any people; and seeing that all was deserted, Thomé de Sousa delivered it over to the soldiers that they might do their duty: and the first thing in which they employed themselves was to destroy the idols, of which there were more than a thousand of divers forms, some of clay, others of wood, others of copper, and many of them gilt. Having done this, they demolished[2] the whole of that infernal structure of *pagodes*, destroying their vaults and cloisters, knocking them all to pieces, and then proceeded to sack the storehouses, in which they found much ivory, fine clothes, copper, pepper, sandalwood, jewels, precious stones, and ornaments of the *pagodes*, and of everything they took what they liked, and to the rest they set fire, by which the whole was consumed. And for greater insult to the *pagode*, they slaughtered inside several cows, which is the most unclean thing that can be, and for the purification of which are required very great ceremonies. And they also set fire to a wooden car made after the manner of a towered house of seven stories, all large and most beautiful, lackered in divers colours and gilt in many parts, a costly and sumptuous work, which served to convey the principal idol on a ride through the city to which likewise they set fire, by which the whole was consumed.

Upon this our people retired laden with prizes, and from there returned to Beligaõ, whither chanced to come that soldier of whom we have said above that he disappeared from them in Mature, who related that in going about the city he lost himself, and on going to look for the vessels he found them no longer there, and that until then he had remained hidden by day, and at night had journeyed in search of the armada. This man was welcomed by all, because they held him for dead, and there Thomé de Sousa continued to cruise about, until the captain of Ceilaõ ordered him to return[3].

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[1] The printed edition has erroneously "Fernandes."

[2] The printed edition has "despised."

[3] See the end of the next chapter (p. 379).

DEC. X., BK. x., CHAP. xvi.

Of how Manoel de Sousa Coutinho reached the coast of Ceilaõ: and of the great devastations that he went making along it until arriving at Columbo.

Manoel de Sousa Coutinho having set out from Goa, as we have said[1], went pursuing his voyage without stopping for anything until he had passed the Cape of Comorim, and along the coast as far as the Island of *Jogues*[2], whence he crossed over to the other side, and made landfall below Manar towards Cardiva: from there he dispatched a swift vessel to the captain of Columbo with a letter, in which he begged him to send him the *modeliar* Diogo da Silva and the *arache* Pedro Afonso with their lascarins in *tones*, as he was waiting for them in the river of Cardiva in order to go destroying everything from there to Columbo.

The letter reached Columbo in two days: and at once Joaõ Correa got ready a foist and nine *tones*, in which went eighty Portuguese and the *modeliares* that he had asked fór; and having set out from Columbo they went and put in at the *Abilaõ* of the *Jogues*[3], and disembarked on land, and entered the village and totally destroyed and burnt it, and from there went to the bar of Chiláo, where was a garrison of Rajú's troops. And seeking to go ashore, they saw three banners with many troops, whereupon they dissembled, and went on to a little village, where they disembarked, and captured three blacks, from whom they learnt the condition of the village of Maripo[4], which was near, and of the people that were there, because they wished to give them a great chastisement, for the evil treatment that they had accorded to the men of a fleet that was wrecked there in the time of the count Dom Luis de Ataide, which was going in succour to Ceilaõ, the captain-major of which was Diogo Lopes Coutinho[5]. And learning that they could attack without risk, they did so, and in spite of the inhabitants entered it and sacked it, killing several and capturing alive forty-eight persons, and seven vessels laden with salt, which they had all ready to carry to Rajú's

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[1] See *supra*, p. 367.

[2] See *supra*, p. 356, note [2].

[3] What *Abilaõ* represents, I do not know; nor can I identify this place, which evidently lay on the coast, south of Chilaw.

[4] Marippu is the Siṉhalese name for the village of Kaṭṭékádu, which lies at the head of the Mundal lake (see *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 157, 215).

[5] See *supra*, p. 257.

posts, where it is much valued, because in the whole island there is none[1].

From there they went foraying several ports until they reached the deep sea, where they encountered the armada and gave the captain-major a relation of the affairs of Columbo, and of what they had done along the coast, and how the city of Chiláo was garrisoned and fortified[2]. Manoel de Sousa at once proceeded to anchor in front of its port, and ordered Dom Jeronimo Dazevedo with four hundred men and the *araches* with their *lascarins* to disembark, which they did, attacking two *tranqueiras* that the enemy had, with such impetuosity that they straightway abandoned them with the loss of several killed ; and our men penetrated four leagues inland, making great havoc amongst them ; and when they had completely hemmed them in they turned back again, on the way falling upon many villages and hamlets, which they burnt and destroyed, until they reached the city of Chiláo, which they put to fire and sword, not sparing anything, without all this costing more than two of our *lascarins*. In the river were more than fifty *pagueis*[3] and many *tones*, and other vessels, to which they set fire, leaving nothing standing, there being burnt both in the city and in the vessels much goods ; and leaving all destroyed, laden with prizes they embarked, the captain-major going in his ship's boat along the shore, so that there might be no disorder in the withdrawal.

Leaving here, they arrived at Columbo on the 18th of February, entering the bay with their whole armada beautifully bedecked with flags, and saluting the city with all the artillery and afterwards with the harquebusery several times, whereby, although the number appeared very great, much greater did it appear in the ears of the enemy, who, on seeing that armada arrive, saw well that troubles were in store for him, because now there also began to come ships of Dom Paulo's armada, since two or three days previously there had arrived the

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[1] That is, no natural or rock salt. The Dutch, by taking possession of the saltpans at Puttaḷam and Hambantoṭa, were able to bring pressure to bear on the king of Kandy when he showed signs of hostility (*cf.* Haafner in *C. Lit. Reg.* v. 93, 108).

[2] Since its destruction by the Christian king of Kandy in January 1565 (see *supra*, p. 235) the city had been rebuilt, and was now better prepared to resist an attack. In 159 –7 D. Jeronimo de Azevedo began erecting a fort here (see *infra*, p. 404).

[3] This is the plural of *palgue*, the Port. corruption of Mar. *baglá* (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* " Buggalow ").

galleons of Dom Joaõ Pereira and Francisco da Silva, and the foists of Dom Nuno Alvres Pereira and the galley of Dom Pedro de Lima, and the day before the galliass of Matheus Pereira de Sampaio, being already advised that Dom Paulo de Lima was expected, who, he already knew, was coming after being so victorious over a like king: whereby he was alarmed, and became still more so when he saw such large armadas, such rejoicings and salvos, because the city discharged its whole artillery to welcome Manoel de Sousa, who immediately disembarked with all the captains and soldiers, being received on the shore by the captain, fidalgos, prelates, and the whole populace with great joy, the pleasure that all felt being shown by the embraces. Manoel de Sousa was conveyed to his lodging, and his captains and soldiers were distributed among the posts, and each one sought his quarters.

On the following day Manoel de Sousa and Joaõ Correa met in order to come to a decision regarding the affairs of Rajú, and sent a message to all the captains that were in that city, prelates and monks to attend; only Dom Joaõ Pereira, who excused himself, sending him word that he was a soldier of Dom Paulo de Lima's, and ought not to be present at a council at which the latter was not present. And all having assembled, Manoel de Sousa made them a short speech, the substance of which was :—"That from the very great experience that he had of Rajú, of his malice and weakness, he knew very well that he would not wait for the crossing of swords; and that when they least suspected it they would be sure to find him flown thence and gone back again without the chastisement that he deserved: that it would be well to give it to him forthwith, and so great a one, that he would remain as an example to all the kings of Ceilaõ to no more attempt treason against that fortress, to which they owed obedience and vassalage; and that he assured them with the divine favour of so great a victory as should remain a wonder in the memory of all the kings of the East, whereby they would be curbed, and we should always be feared and respected by them; and that if he were to depart from there without the chastisement that he deserved, it would be not only a great grief and pain to all that had come with so great willingness to join hands with them, but a shameful affront, because then it would assuredly be said that through fear they failed to attack him, and that he made a pretence with his coming." It was well understood that Manoel de Sousa much desired to take part in that business without Dom Paulo, that the whole of the honour might be his, because he

could not rid himself of envy for so great a victory as God had given him over Rajale: and that if God should grant him that over Rajú the glory of it would all be his; because by nature he was ambitious of honours, and desired to be present on occasions of being able to gain them[1]. Joaõ Correa de Brito took in hand to speak on that matter, and said that the viceroy, in addition to his instructions, in all his letters had commanded him that that affair was not to be carried out without Dom Paulo de Lima: that it was not known what he might suggest; but that he likewise knew that Rajú would not await battle, but rather take steps to withdraw: that he was of the opinion of Manoel de Sousa, that before he raised his camp they should attack him, as without doubt victory was in their hands. This opinion appeared to be in accord with that of Manoel de Sousa; but Joaõ Caiado de Gamboa answered, that they had to vote on one of two suppositions, whether Rajú was to raise his camp, or not: because, if the matter of his determination was doubtful, it would be well to wait for Dom Paulo, who could not be delayed longer than the next day, since the viceroy had so commanded, and that for this very reason Thomé de Sousa de Arronches, who had in his armada very good troops, was cruising about waiting for him; that they should send out spies of confidence; and that when they had certain news that the enemy was shifting his quarters, then they could set aside all the instructions. The rest of the captains and fidalgos that were there voted for the same opinion, chiefly those of the company of Dom Paulo, who spoke on that matter more at length: because, as they belonged to his command, and knew that all that had been discussed was to the end to deprive Dom Paulo of that honour, the matter having been debated, it was resolved that he should be waited for, and that they should obtain information; and that on receiving advice that Rajú intended to raise his camp, then they should attack him, because in that way they would have the opportunity of gaining a great victory over him, whereby the honour would belong to all. And so they rose, incharging on the captain the obtaining of information, who sent out his spies, all getting ready, in order, on receiving the alarm, to go out against the enemy, word being at once sent to Thomé de Sousa that as soon as Dom Paulo arrived he was to take him in his swift ships and come to Columbo.

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[1] Manoel de Sousa had offered himself as commander of the expedition against the kings of Achin and Johor; but the viceroy had chosen D. Paulo de Lima.

DEC. X., BK. x., CHAP. xvii.

Of how Rajú secretly decamped, setting fire to the arrayal : and of how our people went out against him : and of what befell them during the pursuit, and of what happened besides.

Rajú,—seeing the arrival of Manoel de Sousa with so many ships, and of part of the armada of Dom Paulo de Lima, who was expected daily, and was coming after gaining a victory over a king so great as the one of Ujantana[1], and after destroying a city of his so powerful and strong and so full of troops and artillery; and calling to mind the harm that he had received from us, before such great succours had come, and the destruction that had been caused to him on one and the other coast by the armadas of Manoel de Sousa and Thomé de Sousa de Arronches; and that so great a force as had reached them was not for the purpose of being shut up in the fortress;—picturing to himself his total destruction if he waited for our people, took a resolution to withdraw, without telling anyone. And for the greater dissimulation he determined to deceive our people and put them off, in order to be able to withdraw in greater safety: and so forthwith on that day he commanded to throw a letter into the fortress by means of an arrow, in which he begged the captains to give him leave to send ambassadors to them to treat of matters of importance, because he was undeceived, and saw that just as they had not been able to capture Ceitavaca from him, so he could not capture Cochim, not to speak of Columbo. This letter was carried to the captains; and all having met in council, the matter was debated, and they agreed that the ambassadors be heard, as at least it would serve as a diversion until the arrival of Dom Paulo de Lima. Upon this reply there came to them three or four ambassadors with their attendants, who were well received by the captains; and the first thing that they asked was, that the artillery should not be fired from the fortress as long as they were there; and presenting their credentials, all the captains of the succours being present, they said that their master Rajú had commanded them to say that he had a very great festival, which would come on three days from then, the which he was forced to celebrate in Ceitavaca, and that during that time he would accept terms of peace; and that if not, there was no need to speak of it.

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[1] This name is here, as in other places in the printed edition, incorrectly given as "Viantana." It represents Malay Ujungtanah (see *Hob.-Job. s.v.*).

At this juncture, before they had replied to them, there arrived some spies that our people had sent among the enemy, and said that Rajú was shifting his quarters, as in fact was the case: because as soon as the ambassadors were inside, it being now near nightfall, he commanded his baggage to be removed, and gave orders to his *modeliares* to raise the camp, he commencing to march, leaving the rearguard in charge of Vijacon *modeliar*, the captain-general of his camp[1], with the men of his guard. Upon this news there began to be such a great commotion amongst our people, that the ambassadors became as if dumbfoundered, since they had not known Rajú's determination. Without coming to a conclusion, the captains, in order to secure the ambassadors from the soldiers, so as not to break the faith that ought to be observed towards all, ordered them to embark in a *tone*, that they might set them down in the direction of Calapete[2], because if they sent them out by the gates they ran great risk by reason of the concourse that there now was.

Having dispatched them, all the captains assembled in council in order to determine what they should do, and all agreed that spies should be sent out; and if Rajú were moving, they should at once attack him, that he might not go off without the chastisement that he deserved; and having all armed, they put themselves in battle array, in order, if necessary, to sally forth and attack the enemy, and they arranged their companies and captains after this manner. Manoel de Sousa Coutinho with all the men of his armada and those of Nuno Alvres Datouguia, which would be a thousand Portuguese, and all the *araches* and *modeliares* with their *lascarins*, and as their captain Francisco Gomes Leitaõ, to go forth in the van by the field of Sam Thomé, and at once proceed to occupy the Quarry; Bernardim de Carvalho with the men of his armada, and others that were added to them, whereby were made up three hundred men, to seize the lake road, in order to go and take up a position on the point of the island; and the captain of the city Joaõ Correa de Brito with the banner of Christ, with all the men of his round and those that came in succour from Manar and San Thomé, and those of Joaõ Caiado de Gamboa, and all the armada of Dom Paulo (its captains wishing to go with him), who exceeded five hundred men, had to go in the rearguard. The *alcaide mór* Francisco da Silva had to remain in guard of the city with three hundred men,

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[1] See *supra*, p. 292, note [1].

[2] This looks as if "Calapete" actually represents Kollupiṭiya (*cf. supra*, p. 283, note [7]).

veteran *casados*, and others that were chosen for that purpose: and they immediately distributed to everyone munitions in abundance, intrusting the pots of powder and fire-lances to strong and courageous soldiers, for them to undertake the encounter with the elephants, giving orders to the *alcaide mór* to have ready many munitions to be sent a little at a time, vessels of water and things necessary for the aid of the exhausted, and to have cloths, eggs, and other necessary things for the dressing of the wounded that might come back, so that nothing should be wanting. The prelates and monks distributed themselves amongst all the embrasures with crucifixes to encourage those that fought, and to confess those that had need thereof.

And having given orders regarding everything, it being Saturday, the 21st of February, at nine o'clock at night, they saw in the camp of the enemy great fires: and the cause was, that as soon as he shifted his quarters he ordered it to be put to all the *tranqueiras*, which burnt with great fury. Many were of opinion that they should at once sally forth; but the captains, fearing that just as that might mean a flight it might also be an ambush to entrap our men when in disorder, ordered the gates to be shut, sending out some spies, in order to learn what was going on in the field: and the captain Joaõ Correa went with the men of his battalion to the gate of Saõ Joaõ, whence he dispatched the *modeliar* Diogo da Silva with his *lascarins* and thirty picked soldiers well armed, to go and occupy the *tranqueira* of the mount[1], and if they found there any of the enemy's soldiers they were to give him a signal with three firelock shots; and he ordered Dom Joaõ Pereira to place himself with his soldiers and those of his brother Dom Nuno Alvres, with his guidon, in the plain outside in order to support them. The *modeliar* Diogo da Silva went marching to the *tranqueira* of the mount; and finding it still occupied by the enemy, gave the signal that the captain had ordered, which being heard by Dom Joaõ Pereira, in accordance with the orders that he had he went marching towards them: and Diogo da Silva with his *lascarins* attacked the *tranqueira* with great boldness, knowing of the support of Dom Joaõ Pereira, who soon arrived, and with a few blows it was entered, because the enemy vacated it. Our captains, who were ready, at the signal of the firelock shots sallied forth from the city in the order that had been arranged, the van being led by Manoel de Sousa, who reached the *tranqueira* of the first ditch, where there was still a large body of the

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[1] See *supra*, X. IX. V. (p. 298).

enemy, whom they attacked with great fury; but as they had raised their camp they set fire to the *tranqueira* and to all that was in it, and took flight, and the same was done by those in the other *tranqueiras*, Vijacon *modeliar* going in the rear-guard rallying all the troops. Francisco Gomes Leitaõ and the *modeliar* Diogo da Silva went following in pursuit of them, having the support of Dom Joaõ Pereira, who kept on sounding a bastard trumpet in order to encourage them.

Vijacon *modeliar*, as soon as he reached the bridge of Matacore[1], finding that our people were following him, halted by it on the other side, ordering it to be broken down in great haste, in order that our people might not be able to follow him. Those of the vanguard on reaching the bridge on which they found that force of Rajú's *atapata* beat the kettledrums, to which the trumpet of Dom Joaõ Pereira replied, at which signal Manoel de Sousa Coutinho made haste, some volunteers going in advance, such as Joaõ Caiado de Gamboa with thirty or forty[2] men, soldiers, and knights, among whom Manoel Pereira do Lago, Domingo Leitaõ Pereira[3], and others whose names we have not discovered, and arrived at the bridge, on which they found Francisco da Silva the Castilian, a *casado* in Columbo, Francisco Gomes Leitaõ, and Pedro da Silva *modeliar*, maintaining the encounter with the enemy with great valour and spirit, the leader being Francisco da Silva, who like a lion was on the bridge at blows with the enemy, and had killed two Chingalas of Rajú's chief soldiers, gigantic men. Rajú's captain-general turned upon our people with such fury, that, overthrowing and wounding ten or twelve, he drove them back from the bridge, and this was the moment when Dom Joaõ Pereira arrived with the rest of his company, and falling upon the enemy they again won the bridge, which they crossed, and went pursuing the enemy, who fled in disorder as far as the river of Calane, which is nigh a league[4], by very bad and intricate roads, slaying and doing great havoc amongst them. The captains with the rest of the army went as far as the part where they halted; and learning that our men were keeping the enemy on the run at the double, and that Joaõ Caiado was in advance, sent word to him that he was to perform the office of captain of the van for the time, so that there might

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[1] See *supra*, p. 292, note [7].

[2] The printed edition has "three or four hundred."

[3] The manuscript by an oversight omits "do Lago ...... Pereira."

[4] This must mean from the fort, and not from the Demaṭagoḍa bridge: even so, the distance named is an extreme one.

be no disorder: to which he sent reply that he was performing the office of a soldier, but that he would do what he could therein. Manoel de Sousa Coutinho forthwith dispatched Dom Hieronimo de Azevedo to go and support those that were engaged in fighting with the enemy. Bras Daguiar and his brother Ambrosio Leitaõ and other soldiers and knights that went in advance, following in the track of our men who were pursuing the enemy, arrived at a place where the road divided into two, and it seemed to them better to halt in that spot, so that the enemy should not burst forth by one of those roads and make an attack upon the rear of our people who had gone ahead, which was very discreet: and thus there continued to be added all the soldiers that came there, until they formed a respectable body of them.

During this time there arrived at the port of Columbo Thomé de Sousa de Arronches with his armada, and Diogo Soares de Albergaria, who coming along the coast, and seeing fire in Rajú's camp, and guessing what it was, made such haste, that they arrived at that instant with their men under arms, and there arrived the captains who had been with all the force at the bridge, having sent word to Francisco Gomes Leitaõ, field captain, not to go beyond the meadows of Vagore[1], as they had done, there being now no enemies with whom to fight, they having entirely withdrawn: this would be at three hours after midnight, and they remained there until the morning. Those that had gone in advance came returning and[2] picking up all along the road many arms that the enemy had abandoned in their flight; and having reached the bridge where the captains were they related how Rajú was totally routed: upon which all gave many thanks to God our Lord for so great a favour as he had done them. From there they returned to the arrayal, which was between the two ditches that Rajú had commanded to be dug in order to drain the lake, where they went about examining the forts, bastions, traverses, trenches, *tranqueiras*, streets, and roads that he had made for his defence, which was a thing of marvel, because the work seemed to exceed human industry. There they remained until midday, ordering to set fire to the *tranqueiras*; and as they had need of rest, they returned to the city victorious.

Rajú came off very badly from this siege, as it cost him dear, and he lost in the course of the war more than five

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[1] Wéragoḍa ?

[2] The printed edition omits (by an evident oversight) the words "until . . . . . . returning and."

thousand men, and five cities and many towns and villages destroyed, and many ships captured and burnt, and much artillery and goods, and above all his pride, credit, and reputation, which he bore with the neighbouring kings, broken and abated, a thing that he felt most of all. Some persons who have described this siege[1] have added and magnified many things more than took place, thinking that thereby they would gain favour with the captain Joaõ Correa de Brito, who was such a worthy knight, that he was satisfied only with what in fact occurred. One of these asserts Rajú to have lost more than ten thousand men and a large number of prisoners: there were many, but not so many as he has said. On our side during the whole course there died twenty-four Portuguese and eighty *lascarins* in war, and there were more than five hundred of the wretched country folk that died of disease.

On the following day, after the retreat of the enemy, Dom Paulo de Lima arrived, and disembarking on land learnt from the captains of the success that had taken place, at which he was extremely rejoiced. And as everything was done, and the weather served for their going to Goa, they considered the providing of that fortress and the garrison that they should leave in it; because as the enemy was so near, on their turning their backs he might return, and give them trouble once more: wherefore they went on with the demolition of the fillings and bastions, ditches, and all the rest of the enemy's fortifications, all of which formed the structure of a fair-sized city, over which they spent eight days, in which they worked continuously, even to the captains and monks. Joaõ Correa de Brito had spies in the city of Ceitavaca, who each day advised him of what passed there, and he learnt that Rajú was so vexed and ashamed that there was no one that dared to see his face[2]. All having been demolished, and orders given as to other things, they took up the providing of that fortress, and resolved that there should remain six hundred men under the banners of the following captains:—Dom Luis Mascarenhas, Dom Gileanes de

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[1] It is tantalizing that Couto does not name these writers, whose descriptions of the siege do not seem to have survived. Pedro Teixeira, who accompanied Manoel de Sousa Coutinho to Ceylon, gives us no details of the siege or of its raising (see Teix., Introd. ix., 221, 235).

[2] See Linsch. i. 78, ii. 197–8. The *Rájávaliya* (91–2) gives a very curious story to account for Rája Siṇha's retreat, which it attributes to jealousies between the two chief Siṇhalese generals, saying nothing of the Portuguese reinforcements.

Noronha, his brother Dom Leaõ, Joaõ de Sousa Coutinho, Simaõ Rolim, Ruy Pereira de Sande, Francisco da Silva, and Thomé de Sousa de Arronches as captain of the sea with a galley and six foists. This order having been given, and leaving all the provisions, munitions, and money that they thought necessary, they all made sail for Goa.

DEC. X., BK. x., CHAP. xviii.

...... *of how there arrived at Goa Manoel de Sousa and Dom Paulo de Lima :* ......

...... The viceroy was hourly expecting news from Ceilaõ, whither his eyes were turned, because it was the thing that then most worried him, since already from Malaca God our Lord had brought him even better than had been hoped for : that from Ceilaõ was not long delayed, as in a few days there arrived a swift ship, which those captains had dispatched with it. The viceroy, learning from the letters of the favour that God had granted, gave Him many thanks, and ordered all the bells to be rung out, that the city might rejoice, and he wrote at once to all the fortresses of the north that good news, at which they greatly rejoiced. ...... Manoel de Sousa, who was coming in a swift armada, arrived at Cochim, and left at that city Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo in his galley, and two foists besides, to meet the ships from China, and convoy them as far as Goa, and he went visiting the fortresses of Cananor and Canara[1], and at the end of March reached Goa, which he entered with his ships bedecked with flags and branches, and the city received him with many festivities and many salvos of artillery, with all the ships and galleys beautifully dressed with flags ; and in the midst of the aldermen, and accompanied by all the fidalgos that were in Goa, he was conducted to the viceroy, who was awaiting him in the hall, and there received him with many honours, spending some time in praises of him and of all that took part in that affair[2]. From there he retired to his house accompanied by a great concourse of fidalgos and soldiers, and afterwards the viceroy celebrated the victory, and rode through the streets, having at his side Manoel de Sousa.

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[1] Teixeira describes his visit, on this return voyage, to Barselor, one of the ports of Kanara (see Teix. 210–3).

[2] See Linsch. ii. 198.

Dec. X., Bk. x., Chap. xix.

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The viceroy being occupied in the dispatch of the affairs of Maluco and Columbo, whither he dispatched a galliass laden with provisions, munitions, and ten or twelve thousand *pardáos* in money, of which there went as captain Pero Vas, who left Goa on the 20th of April, shortly afterwards the viceroy fell ill of certain fevers, that appeared not to be dangerous, and of which little account was at the time made, but as they were mortal, on the seventh day he departed this present life on the 4th day of the month of May of this year 1588[1]. . . . . .

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[1] On the opening of the letters of succession, it was found that Mathias de Albuquerque was nominated as governor; but, as he had left for Europe, the governorship fell to the next nominee, who was Manoel de Sousa Coutinho (see Linsch. ii. 200–4).

[C O U T O.]

DECADE XI.

1588–1596 A.D.

Portuguese Governors of India.—Manuel de Sousa Coutinho, governor, May 1588 to May 1591; Mathias de Albuquerque, viceroy, May 1591 to May 1597.

Siṃhalese Rulers in Ceylon.—Dharmapála *alias* Dom João Perea Pandar, 1551–97 (Columbo); Rája Siṃha I., 1581(?)–92 (Sítávaka); Rája Súrya, 1592 (Sítávaka); Dom Filippe, 1590(?), Dom João, 1590(?), (Kandy); Dom João d'Austria *alias* Vimala Dharma Súrya, 1592–1604 (Kandy).

Tamil Kings in Jaffna.—Saṅgili, 15 ??–91; Pararája Ṣékara Panḍára, 1591–??.

Portuguese Captains-Major of Ceylon.—João Correa de Brito, 1583–90; Simão de Brito, 1590–1; Pedro Homem Pereira, 1591–4.

Portuguese Captains-General of Ceylon.—Pero Lopes de Sousa, 1594; D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, 1594–1612.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS, 1588–1596.

[In view of the loss of Couto's Eleventh Decade, and for the proper understanding of the details given in his Twelfth Decade, I have thought it advisable to give the following summary of the events that took place in Ceylon during the period covered by the lost Decade, 1588–1596, as recorded by other writers. These, unfortunately, are sometimes at variance with one another; and I have not, in some cases, been able to ascertain the actual facts.]

During the period under notice the centre of interest in Ceylon shifts from the Portuguese fort of Columbo to the Siṃhalese kingdom of "Candea" (*kaṇdauḍa*, the hill-country), which acquires a predominance that it retains for over two

centuries. It has been told above[1] how in 1580 Rája Siṃha conquered Kandy and forced the king then reigning to flee, and to seek the protection of the Portuguese at Maṉṉár. From this island he and his queen, his two sons and their wives and children appear to have been sent to Trincomalee, where the king died shortly afterwards, the other royal refugees being thereupon brought back to Maṉṉár[2]. Here the younger son and his wife, it would seem, died within a short space of time, leaving a young daughter[3], of whom we shall hear more hereafter. The elder son, with his son, a boy of seven or eight years of age, was taken by the Franciscans to Goa to seek the favour of the viceroy, and becoming converts to Christianity were baptized by the names of Dom Filippe and Dom João respectively. This took place probably in 1586[4], and the two princes were accorded a suitable residence in Goa, Dom Filippe being granted a pension for his sustenance[5]. There we must leave them for a moment, in order to turn to another personage who was destined to play the most important part in the history of Ceylon at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

We have seen above[6] that among the Siṃhalese who fled from the tyranny of Rája Siṃha to Columbo and took part in the defence of the city during its siege was a young noble named Konappu Baṇḍára, who, professing Christianity, had received the name of Dom João d'Austria. Not long after the

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[1] See pp. 258–9.

[2] See *Col. de Trat.* i. 226.

[3] *Cf. Rájáv.* 89.

[4] The *Hist. Seraf.*, which records these facts, says (iii. 541) that they took place in 1588: but, as we have seen above (p. 367), Dom Filippe accompanied Manoel de Sousa Coutinho in his expedition to Ceylon in February 1588, so that it seems certain that the prince had come to Goa some time before. The baptisms also must have taken place not later than 1586: for in a letter of 28 January 1588 (*Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 126) the king of Spain refers to the "prince of Candia" by the name of "Dom Filipe." Linschoten refers to the prince (not by name), but does not say when he came to Goa (see Linsch. i. 78). Pyrard also mentions him, but confuses him with Dom João d'Austria (see Pyr. ii. 144).

[5] See *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 187, 203.

[6] Page 294, note [5].

raising of the siege this man had a quarrel with his companion and brother-in-law Salappu Baṇḍára, whom he seems to have wounded, perhaps fatally. For this offence he was banished to Goa, where his success in ridding the city of a notorious swashbuckler and bully, whom he killed in a duel, restored him to favour[1].

After their conversion to Christianity the two Kandyan princes were persuaded by their Franciscan teachers to make a formal donation of their kingdom to the crown of Portugal, in case they should leave no heirs[2]. To a request by D. Filippe that he might be allowed to go to Portugal, King Philip of Spain sent a peremptory refusal ; but to another request he seems to have been not so unfavourable : this was, that D. Filippe should be sent with an armed force to regain possession of his kingdom[3]. In 1589 D. Filippe was once more residing in Maṉṉár, and expressing his determination to go to Kandy, the Romish priests encouraging him in his wish, but the governor at Goa, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, opposing it[4]. By the following year, however, affairs in Ceylon had taken a turn that caused the governor to change his mind.

It would seem that Rája Siṇha, having recuperated his army, was in 1590 once more threatening Columbo with another siege[5]. On the receipt of this intelligence in Goa, the banished mudaliyár Dom João d'Austria volunteered to go with a force by way of Maṉṉár to Kandy, create a disturbance in the hill-country, and thus cause Rája Siṇha to raise the siege of Columbo[6]. Probably importuned thereto by the priests, Manoel de Sousa appears to have consented to Dom Filippe's

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[1] *Rájáv.* 92 ; *Maháv.* xciv. 1–3 ; *C. Lit. Reg.* vi. 333.

[2] *Hist. Seraf.* iii. 541 ; *cf.* also *Col. de Trat.* i. 226. (See *supra*, p. 261.)

[3] See *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 126, 203.

[4] See *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 255. It is probable that after the raising of the siege of Columbo in February 1588 Dom Filippe proceeded to Maṉṉár.

[5] The *Rájáv.* (92) is the only authority I have found for this statement. The year I infer (see p. 392, note [2], *infra*).

[6] *Rájáv.* 92. Whether Konappu Baṇḍára had any ulterior motive in offering his services, it is impossible to say ; but I am inclined to think that his real object was to gain the throne of Kandy for himself, and that he laid his plans accordingly.

accompanying Dom João d'Austria in this expedition on the chance of regaining his father's throne. Accordingly an armada set sail from Goa, under the command of João de Mello de Sampayo[1], the former captain of Mannár[2], for this island, where a large force was landed, which, with as little delay as possible, set out on the march for Kandy, there accompanying it not only Dom João d'Austria, but Dom Filippe, his son Dom João, his wife and mother, and his retinue. Rája Sinha attempted in vain to bar the way; and the Portuguese army with little or no opposition entered the hill capital and took possession of it[3]. As soon as they had occupied Kandy the Portuguese proclaimed Dom Filippe king, his son Dom João being sworn in as heir, while the mudaliyár Dom João d'Austria was appointed commander-in-chief of the native army[4]. Dom Filippe's reign was, however, of very short duration[5], his death taking place within a brief space of time[6], and his young son Dom João, a boy of twelve, being proclaimed king in succession.

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[1] So says the document printed in *Col. de Trat.* i. 226. A preceding document, however, states (220) that the armada was commanded by André Furtado de Mendonça, which is, I think, an error of confusion (see below, p. 393, note [5]). Baldæus (*Ceylon* iii.), quoting a version of this document, has the same error.

[2] See *supra*, p. 305, notes [4] and [5].

[3] *Col. de Trat.* i. 220, 226. The *Hist. Seraf.* (iii. 541) says that the throne of Kandy was at this time occupied by a certain "D. Francisco Vezugo," who had rebelled against Rája Sinha—"this Rajù, or terror [*rayo*] of Christianity"; and that, on the entry of the Portuguese into the city, this man, either through fear or from innate goodness, peacefully resigned his position. Who this person with the "fishy" Portuguese name was, I have no idea, as I can find no other reference to him. Baldæus (*Ceylon* xi.) mentions a "Visego Modeliar" as governor of Negumbo in 1612.

[4] *Col. de Trat.* i. 220, 226; Bald. *u.s.*

[5] The *Hist. Seraf.* says (iii. 542) that during his brief reign there was a vigorous propagation of Christianity throughout the Kandyan districts. Among those baptized at the court were the queen (Dona Catharina), the dowager queen (Dona Maria), and many nobles of royal blood.

[6] The document in *Col. de Trat.* i. (220) and Bald. *Ceylon* iii., iv., ascribe D. Filippe's death to poison administered at the instance of D. João d'Austria, who was enraged at not being made king.

Meanwhile, in anticipation of an attack from Rája Siṇha, the Portuguese had erected a fort at Gannoruwa[1], and garrisoned it with as many troops as could be spared from Kandy. Feeling, however, that their entire force was wholly inadequate to withstand an assault from Rája Siṇha, and perhaps suspicious of the fidelity of their Siṇhalese allies, they sent João de Mello and some friars under convoy to Maṇṇár for reinforcements. Ere these could arrive D. Filippe had died, his son D. João had been proclaimed king, and Dom João d'Austria had taken advantage of the exceptional opportunity now offering to effect his purpose. He therefore threw off the mask, declaring hostility to the Portuguese; and the Kandyans, glad to be freed from both King Stork (Rája Siṇha) and King Log (D. Filippe), flocked to his standard and hailed him as their leader. The Portuguese in Gannoruwa were forced to vacate their fort; and when João de Mello and the reinforcements arrived they found Kandy in the possession of Dom João d'Austria, and had to return to Maṇṇár, accompanied by such of their compatriots as had not elected to serve under the new ruler[2]. At the same time, or perhaps previously, the Franciscan friars escaped to Maṇṇár, carrying with them the boy king Dom João[3], who henceforward disappears from Ceylon history[4].

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[1] Bald. *Ceylon* iii. The *C. P. Gaz.* (276) says that the earthworks of this fort are still well preserved.

[2] *Col. de Trat.* i. 220–1; Bald. *Ceylon* iii. A royal letter of 15 February 1593, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii (370), asks why Dom Filippe was not succoured after being proclaimed king, adding, that from the information sent it was impossible to understand what was the state of affairs in the Kandyan kingdom. As no letters from India reached Portugal in 1592 (see *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 367, 368), it is probable that the events related above took place in 1590.

[3] *Col. de Trat.* i. 227; *Hist. Seraf.* iii. 542.

[4] His subsequent career is interesting. After being educated at the College of the Kings in Goa, he and his cousin Dom Filippe of Sítávaka (see *infra*, p. 398, note [5]) were sent to Lisbon and then to Coimbra to complete their education. At the latter place D. Filippe died in 1611 or 1612, and was interred in the convent of S. Francisco da Ponte. D. João returned to Lisbon, whence he went to Madrid and took priestly orders. He was well received by the king, who, in consideration of his renunciation of his claim to the throne of Kandy, made him a grandee of Spain, and conferred upon him a handsome pension. In

We must now turn for a while to another part of Ceylon, namely, the kingdom of Jaffna, of which we have not heard since the ignominious flight therefrom of D. Constantino de Bragança in 1560[1]. The ruler of this peninsula, probably encouraged thereto by the troubles in which the Portuguese were involved in the Kandyan territories and in the vicinity of Columbo, rebelled against the suzerainty (actual or nominal) of the Portuguese[2]. When, therefore, Mathias de Albuquerque returned to India in May 1591 as viceroy, one of the first matters to engage his attention was the punishment of this rebel king. Accordingly, on 15 August 1591, the famous captain André Furtado de Mendoça[3] sailed with an armada of twenty foists for Ceylon, making first for the "river of Cardiva" (Portugal Bay), where he destroyed the fleet of Cotimusa, captain of the samuri, who had shortly before captured and burnt a Portuguese ship coming from China under the command of Pedro Lopes de Sousa[4]. Thence he proceeded to Maṇṇár, where he was joined by Cosmo de Lafetar, whom the viceroy had dispatched with two ships for the relief of Kandy, with orders to André Furtado to furnish him with the necessary troops[5]. The combined Portuguese forces, assisted by some five thousand Christian Paravas who had fled to Maṇṇár from the tyranny of the náyak of Madura, marched on Jaffna, and completely defeated the king, who was killed in the conflict, together with the hereditary prince, the commander-in-chief of the army, and many nobles. Enormous booty of all kinds

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Lisbon he founded a convent or oratory in Telheiras, where he died and was buried in 1642, aged 64, his monument and portrait being still preserved there (see *Doc. Rem.* i. 10, 106, ii. 239 ; *Col. de Trat.* i. 226 ; Ribeiro *Fatal. Hist.* I. ix., and Le Grand's trans. ; C. A. S. Jl. xi. 591 ; *Hist. Seraf.* vi. 609–12 ; but especially the valuable papers by the eminent scholar Dr. Sousa Viterbo, printed in the *Arch. Hist. Port.* ii. and iii., entitled *Relações de Portugal com alguns Potentados Africanos e Asiaticos* and *D. João Principe de Candia*).

[1] See *supra*, p. 201, and *cf.* p. 260, note [2].

[2] For the details here given I am indebted to the manuscript *Vida de Mathias de Albuquerque* I. xix. (see also Faria y Sousa, *Asia Port.* III. I. viii., and C. A. S. Jl. xi. 515).

[3] Afterwards governor of India for three months (1609).

[4] Of whom we shall hear later (see p. 399 *et seq.*).

[5] This probably explains the error referred to in note [1] on p. 391.

fell into the hands of the victors[1], including money, rich jewelry, vessels, and artillery, much of the last bearing the arms of Portugal. A younger son of the late king was set up as successor to his father, André Furtado apparently remaining until the kingdom was "pacified," while Cosmo de Lafetar proceeded with a large part of the troops to Columbo[2], arriving just in time to prevent the soldiers of that fortress, who had for the second time mutinied against the captain, Simão de Brito[3], from deserting to the enemy.

What Rája Siṇha was doing all this time we can only surmise. As I have said above, he appears to have once more laid siege to Columbo ; and on learning of the disturbances in the hill-country and the assumption of authority by Dom João d'Austria he prepared to raise the siege[4], meanwhile sending against

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[1] A royal latter of 10 March 1598, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (863), refers to an inquiry into "the facts of those inculpated in the sack of Jafanapataõ among whom is André Furtado de Mendoça." In a later letter, however, of 10 December 1598 (*Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 933), we read that the viceroy wished to send André Furtado to Ceylon as general of the conquest, one of his reasons being "because of the natives of those parts fearing him on account of the good success that he had in Jafanapataõ" (see *infra*, p. 421, note [2]).

[2] Faria y Sousa, who in *Asia Port.* III. I. ix. relates in a different form events which he had already described in the previous chapter, makes André Furtado go from "Cardiga" to Columbo and arrive there to find the soldiers in revolt. The *Vida de M. de Alb.* says that Cosmo de Lafetar carried with him the old queen and the little king of Candea, whom the king of Jaffna had sought to kill : but I think this must be an error.

[3] This man succeeded João Correa de Brito as captain of Columbo in 1590. From a royal letter printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (425) it appears that the viceroy had ordered Cosmo de Lafetar to remove Simão de Brito from his post on account of the mutinies against him : and this order seems to have been executed, the post being given to Matheus Pereira, who, however, died before entering upon it, whereupon Pedromem Pereira was appointed (see *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 425, 426).

[4] The *Rájávaliya* (93) says that "Rája Siṇha having heard that the hill-country was disturbed repaired to Sítávaka and chid Vikramasiṇha Mudali," from which we may infer that the latter was held responsible for the peace of the Kandyan territories. The native historian goes on to tell how, when Vikramasiṇha was attacked with dysentery, poison was, by Rája Siṇha's orders, mixed with the medicines, whereby the old general died (*cf. supra*, p. 273, note [6]). From a royal letter of 1 March 1594, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (426), it would seem that Rája Siṇha had once more (and for the last time) sought for terms of peace with the Portuguese, which had been refused.

Dom João a large force under the command of Aritta Kivendu Perumál, an erstwhile fakir from the Solian country, who had been appointed Mannamperuma Mohotti[1]. Dom João and his army, however, blocked the pass of Balané, thus preventing the invaders from gaining access to the hill-country. Rája Sinha arriving with the rest of the army encamped at Mávela[2], whence he dispatched a large body of troops by way of Balané and Kadugannáwa; but these were as unsuccessful as the former, being beaten back by the army of Dom João, who thereupon assuming the aggressive marched down at the head of his army and encountered Rája Sinha in battle. The old king, seeing the assumption of the insignia of royalty bythe man whose father he had treacherously murdered, appears to have lost heart, and given the signal for retreat[3]. Leaving Mannamperuma Mohotti in command of Galboda kóralé and Paranakúruva, he retired to the park at Petangoda, where a bamboo splinter ran into his foot[4], causing a wound which speedily mortified. Feeling his end approaching, he ordered the royal barge to be prepared, and in this he was conveyed to Sítávaka, where he soon afterwards died[5]. This took place in the year 1592.

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[1] See *Rájáv.* 93; Val. *Ceylon* 82.

[2] In the Ganné pattu of the Galboda kóralé.

[3] See *Rájávaliya* 93-94; Bald. *Ceylon* iii.; *Col. de Trat.* i. 221.

[4] So says the *Rájávaliya.* The document in *Col. de Trat.* i. (221) and Baldæus (*Ceylon* iii.), as well as other writers, accuse Rája Sinha of wilfully wounding his foot and refusing to allow it to be healed.

[5] That Rája Sinha died in Sítávaka there can be no doubt (the sentence in *Rájávaliya* 94 is wrongly translated). As regards his age at death there has been a great deal of misstatement, owing to an absurd blunder of Valentyn's, founded on a misreading of a statement in Baldæus (see Mudaliyár W. F. Gunawardhana's "Rája Sinha I.," in C A. S. Jl. xviii. 386-7, which, however, itself contains several errors). According to the *Vida de M. de Alb.* I. xxiii., at the time of his death Rája Sinha had ruled the island for 38 years, that is from 1554 to 1592, the former year (or 1555) being actually that when, as a youth in his teens, Tikiri Bandára first saw active service and obtained his title (see *Rájáv.* 82–3, and *cf. supra*, p. 208, note [3]). Although, therefore, I have spoken of him here as "the *old* king," he must have been well under sixty years of age when he died.

On the death of Rája Siṃha, his elder son[1] Rája Súrya was proclaimed king, a younger brother of the latter's being appointed by him governor of Beligal kóraḷé[2]. How long Rája Súrya reigned is not very clear[3], but neither of the brothers seems to have retained the respect or the affection of the people, and they were both murdered, with the connivance, we are told, of Mannamperuma Mohoṭṭiya and Rája Siṃha's elder sister, the widow of Vídiye Rája[4], who was residing at Mattamagoḍa. After the two brothers had been got rid of, the old princess and her orphan grandson, a boy five years of age, were brought to Sítávaka, the child being made nominal king, while Mannamperuma Mohoṭṭiya actually exercised authority[5]. A Portuguese and Siṃhalese force, which marched from Columbo to Negumbo with the object of capturing a fort that Rája Siṃha had had in Aḷutkúruva[6], was defeated with great loss by Mannamperuma, and had to return discomfited[7]. Being a foreigner, it is only natural that Mannamperuma Mohoṭṭiya had many enemies in Sítávaka, one of the bitterest being the atapattu árachchi, who, to vent his spite on his rival, set about ribald songs regarding Mannamperuma's former calling of fakir. These so much annoyed the Solian, that eventually he forsook Sítávaka, and went to Columbo, where he was welcomed by the Portuguese, King Dharmapála conferring upon him the honorary title of Jayavíra Baṇḍára[8].

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[1] Or grandson, according to Val. (*Ceylon* 82).

[2] *Rájávaliya* 94.

[3] The *Rájávaliya* (94) says "3 years": but this is impossible.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 176, where we read of her remaining in the hands of the king of Jaffna after the death of her husband. When she left there does not appear (*cf.* pp. 195, 203–4).

[5] *Rájávaliya* 95.

[6] The *Rájávaliya* (95) says it was at "Orutoṭa," which was, perhaps, the old name of Pórutoṭa, near Pallanséna.

[7] *Rájávaliya* 95-6, where by the "Moorish mudali called Pída Silla" is probably meant Diogo da Silva (see *supra*, p. 276, note [2]). I have no confirmation from Portuguese writers of the statement of the Siṃhalese historian.

[8] *Rájávaliya* 96. The *Vida de M. de Alb.* (I. xxiii.) says that Mannamperuma, or "the *modeliar* Bica Narsinga," as it calls him (*cf. supra*, p. 225, note [8]), fled from Sítávaka to save his life, against which he learnt, plots were laid

A large number of the Sítávaka troops[1] accompanied or followed Mannamperuma to Columbo: and at the head of these, together with a force of Portuguese, he attacked and captured, after a three months' siege, the stockade at Raggahawatta[2], afterwards assaulting the fortress at Kaḍudevola, which, however, proved too strong for the assailants, who had to retire baffled to Columbo. The foregoing events took place in the years 1592 and 1593.

Early in 1594[3] another force of Sinhalese and Portuguese, under the command of the captain of Columbo Pedro Homem Pereira, Jayavíra Baṇḍára, and D. Julião de Noronha (who had been sent by D. Jeronimo de Azevedo from the Malabar coast, at the instance of the viceroy, to aid in the conquest of Ceylon [4]), set out from Columbo with the determination to capture Sítávaka[5]. The *tranqueiras* of Kaḍudevola and Malvána were taken by storm, and, after a fierce resistance, the fortress of Gurubẹvila had to yield, with great loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The road thus lay open to Sítávaka,

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[1] The *Vida de M. de Alb.* (I. xxiii.) says "nearly three thousand lascarins"; but a royal letter of 18 February 1595, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (486), gives the number as "500 souls."

[2] *Rájávaliya* 96. The royal letter cited in the previous note mentions the capture by the "Mudiliar Bique Narçimgua" and his men with some Portuguese of the "*tranqueira grande*" (*cf. supra*, p. 286, note [6]). This, however, seems to have been a misapprehension. for the Kaḍudevola fort was not taken until the next year. Regarding Raggahawatta see C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 271–2 (note [368]).

[3] Probably at the beginning of March. According to Boc. (46) the generals of Ceylon were accustomed to make two expeditions each year against the Kandyan territories—one in March, the other in September.

[4] The *Vida de M. de Alb.* in I. xxi. states that D. Julião was sent with six foists, two hundred soldiers, munitions, and money in 1593; whilst in I. xxiii. is recorded the departure of D. Julião with the six foists, soldiers, and munitions on 20 February 1594. But there can be no doubt that it was in 1594 that the succour was sent, as the letter cited in the two previous notes quotes the viceroy as writing in December 1593, that it had been decided in council to send two hundred soldiers in succour; and we shall find that the expedition in which D. Julião participated took place in March–May 1594.

[5] For the details here given I am indebted to the *Rájávaliya* (97) and the *Vida de M. de Alb.* (I. xxiii.). In some particulars the two accounts are discrepant.

which made but a show of resistance to the advancing army. Finding that the old queen had fled with her grandson[1] to Denavaka[2], carrying with her the royal treasures, Jayavíra Baṇḍára set off in pursuit[3], captured and brought back the fugitives and the treasure, which was handed over to Pedro Homem Pereira[4], who seems to have shortly afterwards returned to Columbo, taking with him the boy prince[5], the old queen, it would appear, having succumbed soon after her capture[6]. Jayavíra Baṇḍára having been left in command at Sítávaka, the Portuguese under D. Julião de Noronha returned to Columbo at the end of May, on the way encountering and defeating a body of Siṇhalese under a "rebel" leader[7], and destroying the dévâlé at Navagomuva[8], in the ruin of which many natives perished.

We must now return for a moment to Dom João d'Austria, whom we left victorious in the battle with Rája Siṇha at the foot of the Balané pass. Not desiring, and probably not

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[1] The *Vida de M. de Alb.* adds to these a prince and princess, whom I cannot identify.

[2] The *Vida de M. de Alb.* has "the city of Oivava," which last word appears to be a misreading for "Dinavaca."

[3] So the *Rájávaliya*. According to the *Vida de M. de Alb.* João Rodrigues Camello with two hundred soldiers also took part in the pursuit.

[4] The *Vida de M. de Alb.* says that the treasure exceeded one hundred thousand *pardaos*, besides what Jayavíra Baṇḍára and his lascarins stole and kept for themselves; and that there were captured twenty-four pieces of artillery and a large number of muskets, ammunition, and all kinds of arms, which were recovered from the wells and cisterns in which they had been hidden. A royal letter of 9 March 1596, printed in the *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (617), acknowledges receipt of a letter from Pedro Homem Pereira, in which the same sum as that given above is named.

[5] Who henceforward disappears from Ceylon history. For his subsequent career see *supra*, p. 392, note [4].

[6] The *Rájávaliya* (97) alone records her death, giving a very curious account of the cause and manner of it.

[7] Who this was, I do not know.

[8] The *Vida de M. de Alb.*, which alone records this act of vandalism, has "the famous *pagode* of Nago," which I identify as above. In Valentyn's map of Ceylon "Nagam" is shown, but erroneously on the north bank of the Kelani. On Navagomuva dévâlé see *Return of Architectural and Archæological Remains in Ceylon* (1890) 2.

feeling strong enough, to follow up his victory by any incursion into the lowland territories, Dom João retired with his army to Kandy, where he was proclaimed king under the title of Vimaladaham Súrya[1], the whole of the "five divisions" of the hill-country submitting to his rule[2]. Knowing well that the Portuguese would not rest content until they had expelled him from the throne he had usurped, and visited him with the condign punishment due to a renegade, the new king seems to have very wisely spent the next two years in strengthening his forces and preparing for the inevitable attack[3]. Seeing that he could look for no assistance from the lowland territories, he opened up correspondence with the puppet king of Jaffna, with a view to an offensive and defensive alliance[4]; but this attempt, as might be expected, was very soon nipped in the bud by the Portuguese.

We now come to an episode in the history of Ceylon, in connection with which a number of strange and seemingly fictitious events have been recorded by several writers. In the early part of 1594[5] there called at Columbo on his way to Goa the outgoing captain of Malacca, Pero Lopes de Sousa; who, learning from the captain[6] of Columbo the condition of

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[1] The document printed in *Col. de Trat.* i. (227) says that as soon as Dom João had got rid of Dom Filippe by poison he made himself "intruded king with the title of Septupelabandar." What the first part of this title represents, I am unable to say.

[2] *Rájávaḷiya* 94–5.

[3] The various authorities are silent regarding Dom João's doings during the two years 1592–4, except for the fact recorded in the letter mentioned in the next note.

[4] This is referred to in a royal letter of 26 February 1595, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (504).

[5] The Portuguese ships left Malacca for India generally at the end of December or beginning of January (see *supra*, p. 353, note [6]): we should therefore conclude that the visit of Pero Lopes took place in January or February 1594, were it not for the facts mentioned in the next note.

[6] Ribeiro, who is the only writer that records the details here given, says (*Fatal. Hist.* I. vi.) that Pero Lopes "was well received by the captain of the fort, Francisco da Silva," and that it was with this man that Pero Lopes discussed matters. Now, as we have seen above, the captain of Columbo at this time was Pedro Homem Pereira: therefore Francisco da Silva (either the *alcaide mór* of Columbo or the Castilian

affairs in Ceylon, promised to urge upon the viceroy the importance of immediately dispatching to the island a force sufficient, with that already there, to effect the conquest of the Kandyan kingdom, wrongfully held by the usurper Dom João Mudaliyár *alias* Vimaladaham Súrya. This promise Pero Lopes fulfilled as soon as he reached Goa; and the matter having been discussed in council[1], it was resolved to send Pero Lopes himself with three hundred[2] men on this enterprise, and that he should be the first to hold the office of captain-general of the conquest of Ceylon. Accordingly, in April 1594, Pero Lopes de Sousa set sail from Goa with an armada consisting of a galley and eight foists well provided with captains, soldiers, munitions, and provisions[3]; and at

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casado, both of whom are mentioned by Couto *supra*, X. x. xvii.) must have been acting during the absence of Pedro Homem. The latter, as we have seen, was away from Columbo on the Sítávaka expedition from the beginning of March until about the middle of May, therefore either it was in March that Pero Lopes arrived from Malacca, or else, if earlier, Pedro Homem was absent on some other enterprise not recorded.

[1] The curious details recorded by Ribeiro (*loc. cit.*) may have some grains of truth in them; but I cannot substantiate them. According to Ribeiro, one of the conditions made by Pero Lopes in consenting to undertake the enterprise was that a nephew of his was to marry Dona Catharina: most of the other writers say that it was Pero Lopes himself who wished to have her. The *Rájávaliya*, however, tells quite a different tale (see *infra*, p. 401, note [8]).

[2] This is the figure given in the royal letter of 26 February 1595, cited above, on the authority of a letter of the viceroy's dated 13 April 1594, which had been dispatched overland to Portugal. King Philip expresses his approval of the choice of Pero Lopes for this expedition.

[3] So says the *Vida de M. de Alb.* (I. xxiv.). Ribeiro (*Fatal. Hist.* I. vii.) states that the armada consisted of "many rowing vessels and some galleys, and in them one thousand two hundred Portuguese soldiers, all very fine, and the other necessary provision." Sá y Menezes (see C. A. S. Jl. xi. 553) gives the same number of soldiers. The document printed in *Col. de Trat.* i. (221) has "1,250 native Portuguese, besides mixties and Indians," Baldæus's version of which (*Ceylon* iii.) adds a cypher to the 1,250. From a royal letter of 2 January 1596, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (581), it appears that the captain of one of the ships was Sebastião d'Aguiar, and that he was killed in the attack on the Kandyan *tranqueiras*.

the beginning of May this fleet reached Columbo[1]. At this time Pedro Homem Pereira was still absent in connection with the expedition to Sîtávaka[2], but soon returned: his feelings on learning that henceforth he was to occupy a subordinate position may well be imagined; and there is probably only too much truth in the statements of some writers to the effect that the disaster that overtook Pero Lopes was connived at by the captain of Columbo[3]. The setting in of the south-west monsoon rendered it impossible for any hostile movement to be made for at least three months, and this period was doubtless spent in the discussion and maturing of the plan of campaign. At last, all being ready, leaving Pedro Homem Pereira in Columbo with a sufficient garrison[4], Pero Lopes de Sousa set forth in September[5] for Kandy with a strong force of Portuguese and Siṅhalese soldiers, being accompanied, or joined on the way, by Jayavíra Baṅḍára and his body of troops[6]. On reaching the Paraṇakúru kóraḷé[7] the army halted, and Francisco da Silva, the Castilian, was dispatched to bring Dona Catharina, in order that she might accompany the forces that were to place her on the throne of Kandy[8]. Resuming its march, the

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[1] Ribeiro (*loc. cit.*) says that Pero Lopes called first at Maṇṇár, where he embarked Dona Catharina, and then proceeded to Negumbo.

[2] *Vida de M. de Alb.* I. xxiv.

[3] See *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 213; Rib. *u.s.* [4] *Vida de M. de Alb.*, *u.s.*

[5] None of the authorities gives the time of year in which this expedition took place: but that it was in September–October appears certain (*cf. supra*, p. 397, note [3], and *infra*, p. 403, note [4]).

[6] Baldæus (*Ceylon* iii.) gives a palpably supposititious list of the whole force, with the exact numbers of soldiers, war elephants, *aliyás*, draft oxen, and coolies, the totals of which do not work out quite correctly.

[7] So I interpret Faria y Sousa's "Palnagure."

[8] I here follow Faria y Sousa (*Asia Port.* III. I. ix.), who appears to quote from some reliable authority. Where Dona Catharina was at this time I cannot say for certain, the different accounts being at variance with one another on this point, as also in regard to other details of the expedition. The *Rájávaliya* (97) says that the Portuguese took Dona Catharina with them, hoping that if she married Vimaladaham Súrya she would help them to get to Kandy—a very unlikely supposition! Bald. (*u.s.*) says that the Portuguese erected "for their security three fortresses, Manikeroweri, Mapati, and Gannatari" (Meṇikkaḍavara, Aṭṭápiṭiya ?, and Ganéteṇṇa).

Portuguese army climbed the pass and assailed Balané, where Vimaladaham Súrya had once more fortified himself. After several unsuccessful attempts the invaders managed to capture the position, Vimaladaham retiring on Kandy. The Portuguese do not seem to have pushed on thither[1], but encamped at Danturé[2], some miles distant therefrom, probably in order to rest and prepare for an assault on the royal city. Taking advantage of this delay, Vimaladaham resolved to carry into execution a scheme, which, if successful, would rid him of a formidable enemy and render easy the defeat of the Portuguese forces. To this end he allowed to fall into the hands of the Portuguese a letter purporting to be from Jayavíra Bańḍára to him, in which the writer offered to betray his allies to the Kandyan king. This plot succeeded only too well: Jayavíra was put to death by the infuriated Portuguese[3]; and, as a natural result, his soldiers deserted in a body to Vimaladaham Súrya. With this augmented force the wily king fell upon the diminished army of Pero Lopes, who when he attempted to retreat found the road blocked in the usual Kandyan fashion by felled trees. He and the rest of the Portuguese sold their lives dearly, and not one seems to have escaped[4], the few that survived

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[1] Although most of the writers say that the Portuguese entered Kandy, and made some stay there, I can find no confirmation of the statement. The *Rájávaliya* (98) says nothing of it. The curious account given in *Col. de Trat.* i. 221–3, and with much greater detail by Bald. (*Ceylon* iv.), seems to be fiction.

[2] *Rájávaliya* 98. In the description of Danturé in the *C. P. Gaz.* (132–3) its connection with this event in Ceylon history is not mentioned.

[3] There is a consensus of testimony among the various writers as to this incident, but they are divided as to the innocence or guilt of Jayavíra Bańḍára. That he had appropriated much of Rája Siṃha's reasure is probable (see *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 617), as also that he aimed at making himself an independent sovereign in the lowcountry; but hat he wished to marry Dona Catharina is at least doubtful.

[4] The writer of the document translated in *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 210–4 says that with Pero Lopes perished "seven hundred Portuguese, the best that were then in India." (This was written only fifteen years after the disaster.) Strangely enough the *Vida de M. de Alb.* gives no details of the reverse, simply saying that Pero Lopes "being taken in an ambush was killed and defeated."

becoming prisoners and slaves in Kandy[1], or being sent down to Columbo shockingly mutilated[2]. But the crowning triumph for Vimaladaham was the capture of Dona Catharina, whom he straightway made his wife, thus establishing his right to the throne of Kandy as consort of the lawful heiress, acknowledged as such by the Portuguese themselves[3].

When news of this terrible disaster reached Columbo[4] Pedro Homem at once dispatched letters to the viceroy to apprise him thereof. The council having been summoned, it was resolved, in order to safeguard the territory already won, to dispatch to Ceylon as captain-general Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, who at that time occupied the post of captain-major of the Malabar coast. Orders to this effect having been sent to Dom Jeronimo, together with money and munitions, he speedily set out for Ceylon with five hundred soldiers in seventeen ships, and reached Columbo on 23 December 1594[5]. Twice before, in 1582 and 1588, as we have seen[6], had Dom Jeronimo visited Ceylon; but on both occasions his stay had been brief. Now, however, he was entering upon one that was destined to last eighteen years, during which he was to deluge the island with blood and earn for himself an eternal infamy. With the troops he had brought, and such others as could be spared from Columbo, the new captain-general at once proceeded to "pacify" the low-country territories, which had doubtless revolted against the Portuguese after the murder of Jayavíra Baṇḍára and

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[1] Among these was a youth, Manuel Dias, whom Vimaladaham subsequently made his *maha mudali* (see *C. Lit. Reg.* vi. 334).

[2] *Rájávaliya* 98; Bald. *Ceylon* v.; Faria y Sousa, *u.s.* The last writer and the *Hist. Seraf.* (iii. 542–4) describe the horrible treatment accorded to the priests who accompanied the expedition.

[3] In the treaty of peace of 5 December 1632 (*Col. de Trat.* ii. 38 ff.) we find Rája Siṃha II. asserting his right to the crown of Kandy through his mother Dona Catharina. (See, however, Sá y Menezes's remarks, in C. A. S. Jl. xi. 555.) The princess was about fifteen years of age at the time of her marriage.

[4] In October or November 1594, probably.

[5] *Vida de M. de Alb.* I. xxiv.

[6] *Supra*, pp. 262, 367.

the defeat of Pero Lopes[1]. In this task Dom Jeronimo had at first a measure of success[2]. As soon as he had overcome the opposition of the Sinhalese in any district he forthwith set to work to build and garrison a fortress there. Thus in 1595 he had erected forts at Galle[3] and Mátara[4]; and by the time the new viceroy arrived at Goa in May 1597, twelve fortresses of stone and lime, earth, or wood, had been built by him[5], viz., besides the two named, forts at Negumbo[6] and Kalutara[7], a fortress begun at Chilaw[8], an earthwork at

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[1] I have no authoritative information on these points, but infer them from the statements of various writers.

[2] In *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (595–7) is printed a "particular and express instruction on the conquest and enterprise of Ceillaõ," dated 1 March 1596, for the count admiral D. Francisco da Gama, whe was proceeding to India as viceroy. In this the king refers to the disaster and the dispatch of D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, the news of which had reached him by the ships of the previous year, and adds that by letters written in February 1595 by Mathias de Albuquerque and sent overland he had received much more favourable tidings of affairs in Ceylon (see also the royal letter of 8 March 1596 to the Goa chamber in *Arch. Port.-Or.* i. I. 115–6). The king also expresses his opinion as to the supreme importance of Ceylon to the Portuguese in the East, and urges the new viceroy to give the matter his best consideration on his arrival in India.

[3] This is mentioned in a letter of 15 December 1595 from the Goa chamber to the king, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* i. II. (27). As mentioned above (p. 370, note [1]), the building of a fort at Galle had frequently been urged by the king of Spain. This fortress was evidently a poor affair, to judge from the description of it, sixteen years later, by the Spanish captain Antonio Martins (see *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 165).

[4] See *Rájávaliya* 99, and *cf. supra*, p. 372, note [4]. This fort also is referred to contemptuously by Antonio Martins (see previous note).

[5] This information I take from *Vida de M. de Alb.* I. xxiv. *Cf.* also Boc. 45.

[6] Boc. (45) mentions this. Negumbo had evidently become increasingly important as a native trade port, as intercourse with Columbo and the Kelani river became more difficult owing to the wars between the Portuguese and Rája Sinha (see *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 135).

[7] Boc. (45) mentions that Dom Jeronimo built a fort at "Caluture," and in several places later on he refers to this fort. Couto speaks of it in 1599 (see *infra*, p. 435, note [1]).

[8] Boc. (45) mentions this. On p. 424 *infra* we are told of the Portuguese "*tranqueiras* in the direction of Chilao," but the fort at that place is not specifically spoken of. As regards the importance of the place see *supra*, p. 377, note [2].

Malvána[1], a fort at Gurubęvila[2], a strong castle in Sítávaka[3], two on the Denavaka side[4], a fort at Baṭugedara[5], and another to the north of Sítávaka on the border of the Four and Seven Kóraḷés[6]. Among the expeditions undertaken in 1595 by Dom Jeronimo was one to Chilaw, where a large body of Sinhalese had fortified themselves[7], whom the Portuguese defeated with great loss[8]. One of the most formidable antagonists that Dom Jeronimo had to contend with was a gigantic Sinhalese mudaliyár, who had recently revolted against the Portuguese because of some injustice done to him[9]. This man, known to the Portuguese as Domingos Correa[10], and to the Sinhalese as Edirilléráḷa[11], gained a large following, and for a time successfully checked the "pacificatory" operations of the captain-general. Not only so, but at

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[1] This is also recorded by Boc. (45). On p. 138 *supra* we read of Malvána as one of the three places where Máyádunné had *tranqueiras* (but see notes [1] and [2] there). On p. 437 *infra*, Couto speaks of "the *tranqueira* Malvana." Dom Jeronimo gave the place an evil notoriety (see F. y S. III. III. xiv. 17), and in later times it obtained a factitious importance (see Rib. I. x., xiv.).

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 138, note [2].

[3] This is probably the "lofty tower" mentioned by Faria y Sousa (*Asia Port.* III. III. xvi.) as still standing in 1619 (Stevens appears to have misunderstood the original in his translation of this passage—see *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 56).

[4] One at Denavaka (*cf. supra*, p. 34, note [3]), the other at Kuruviṭa (see *infra*, p. 411, note [3]).

[5] See *infra*, p. 413, note [3].

[6] On p. 412 *infra* we read of the "*tranqueira of* Ruanella" as already in existence at the beginning of 1597. Ruvanvęlla is certainly "north of Sítávaka," but hardly "on the border of the Four and Seven Kóraḷés." The latter description would apply to Allawwa, where, as we learn from XII. I. xiv. (p. 426), there was also a *tranqueira*. This, also, is almost due north of Sítávaka, though a long distance therefrom.

[7] *Cf. supra*, pp. 376, 377.

[8] *Vida de M. de Alb.*, *u.s.* It was doubtless after this engagement that the fort referred to above was begun.

[9] Bald. *Ceylon* vi., where some curious and apparently authentic details are given. A royal letter of 5 February 1597, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (668), refers to "the rebellion of the Modeliar," which had altered affairs in Ceylon for the worse.

[10] See *infra*, p. 417; *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. 819; F. y S. III. I. ix.

[11] See *Rájávaliya* 99.

Pussella he cut off the retreat to Columbo of the Portuguese force, which would have been destroyed had not the captain of the fort at Mátara, Dom Fernando Mudaliyár[1] (Samarakónrála), hastened to its help, and by creating a diversion enabled it to reach Columbo in safety[2]. The captain of Columbo, Pedro Homem Pereira, was this year (1595) removed[3], his place being taken by a man not much the inferior, as regards brutality, to Dom Jeronimo himself[4], Thomé de Sousa de Arronches, whose doings, as captain-major of the coast of Ceylon, have been chronicled by Couto above[5]. The garrison of Columbo appears to have suffered great hardships at this time owing to lack of provisions[6], and the soldiers generally were greatly discontented[7].

Domingos Correa, having recovered from a wound received in the above-mentioned encounter with the Portuguese[8], in 1596, accompanied by his younger brother Simão Correa, who had also revolted, marched with his army to Galle, and

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[1] Regarding whom see *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 165.

[2] *Rájávaliya, u.s.* "The Pussella" mentioned is apparently Puswella in the Héwávissa kóralé, Wéudawili hatpattu. The Portuguese had, in their retreat to Columbo, to take a rather roundabout route.

[3] Possibly for suspected complicity in the disaster to Pero Lopes de Sousa (see p. 401 *supra*). A royal letter of 13 February 1597, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (705), shows that his character was not above suspicion; and we learn from a royal *alvará* of 20 March 1601, printed in the *Arch. da Rel. de Goa* (5), that a judicial case had been instituted against him for some reason not stated.

[4] A royal letter of 13 January 1598 (Brit. Mus. Addit. 20861) says that Dharmapála had written to the king complaining of the behaviour of Dom Jeronimo and Thomé de Sousa, who had treated him badly, used indecent language to him, misappropriated his rents, &c. (see *infra*, p. 428, note [3]).

[5] X. x. xiv.–xv. (pp. 367–75).

[6] *Cf. Arch. Port.-Or.* i. II. 27. From the royal letter cited in note [4] above we learn that Pedro Homem Pereira had lent twenty-four thousand serafins for providing the needs of the fortress.

[7] The Goa chamber, in their letter of 15 December 1595 (*Arch. Port.-Or.* i. II. 27), speak of the garrison as being "inimical and little obedient to their captain-major," and refer to the hardships the soldiers had to endure.

[8] *Rájávaliya* 99.

laid siege to the fort recently erected there by D. Jeronimo de Azevedo. The latter appears to have been at the time in the fortress; and so close was the siege, that, threatened with starvation, the captain-general and his troops were obliged to vacate the fortress and fight their way through the enemy, who followed hard after them, harassing them and killing and wounding many of their number, until at length, having been succoured by land and sea by Thomé de Sousa de Arronches, the exhausted and greatly reduced Portuguese force reached Columbo and gained safety within its hospitable walls[1]. But shortly afterwards the redoubtable rebel leader was captured at Uḍuvara by Dom Fernando Mudaliyár and brought into Columbo, where, by order of the captain-general, he was put to death and quartered[2]. The result of this was the "pacification" (for a time) of the lowcountry

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[1] Baldæus (*Ceylon* vi.) is the only writer that mentions this siege of Galle; but it seems to be referred to in the royal letter of 13 January 1598 cited above (p. 406, note [3]), which quotes from a letter of Thomé de Sousa's the details I have here given. It is strange that the *Rájávaliya* is silent on the subject. Faria y Sousa, speaking presumably of this affair, says (*Asia Port.* III. I. ix.) that Dom Jeronimo had but four hundred men to resist the attack of twelve thousand Siṇhalese. He also records the horrible fate of a Franciscan father who was wounded in the engagement.

[2] Faria y Sousa, *u.s.* (See also *infra*, p. 418.) Baldæus (*u.s.*) says that Domingos Correa was put to death by the Portuguese "in spite of promises"; and that so enraged was Vimaladaham at this act of perfidy, that he caused a number of Portuguese prisoners to be thrown before elephants, sending others horribly mutilated to Columbo with the message that if the remaining Siṇhalese prisoners were not set at liberty he would accord a similar treatment to the rest of the Portuguese in his hands. The Dutch writer adds, that so infuriated were the soldiers in Columbo at the sight of their mutilated comrades that they attempted to kill Dom Jeronimo, who only escaped by taking refuge in a monastery until the populace had calmed down. All this may be true; but I can find no confirmation of it. A royal letter of 15 January 1598, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (819), refers to the fact of Domingos Correa's being "dead," but throws no light on the incidents mentioned above. According to the *Rájávaliya* (99), "Dharmapála ...... seized the family of Edirillérála [Domingos Correa], and having put the males to death took the women and Edirillérála's younger brother and sent them to Goa." Regarding this last statement see *infra*, p. 417, note [1].)

districts[1]; though, as a whole, the state of affairs in Ceylon at the end of 1596 was anything but rosy for the Portuguese[2].

During the two years that followed the annihilation of Pero Lopes de Sousa's force Vimaladaham had devoted himself chiefly to the consolidation of his kingdom. He had also caused to be erected several forts to guard the passes to the hill-country, and had built himself in Kandy a new palace surrounded by bastions, in the construction of which the surviving Portuguese prisoners were employed[3]. Having renounced his profession of Christianity, and, as it were, thrown down the gauntlet of defiance by assuming the title

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[1] *Rájávaliya* 99. In his letter of 15 January 1598, cited in the previous note, King Philip says he is glad to learn from the viceroy that the affairs of Ceylon " were in the best state that they had ever been," and that as a result of the death of Domingos Correa " the kingdoms of Cotta and Ceitaauaqa, which are the greater part of that island, had quieted down." In consequence of this favourable report it was decided to send to Ceylon a large number of priests, the Franciscans there being insufficient for the work of " conversion."

[2] The Goa chamber, writing to the king on 19 December 1596, say (*Arch. Port.-Or.* i. II. 35–6) :—" The affairs of Ceilão remain in a troublous enough state and with little stability, as this city wrote at large to your majesty last year ; and as long as your majesty does not send a separate force for the conquest of this island the course that is adopted at present will only serve to consume the soldiery of this state drawn from the armadas and fortresses, the which remains there almost entirely, some dying in war, and others of sickness ; and in order that your majesty be more particularly informed of the truth of this, we send with this the copy of a letter that the chamber of the city of Columbo wrote to us this summer." No copy of the letter mentioned is extant, unhappily ; but in his letter of 13 January 1598, already cited, the king refers the statements of the Goa chamber to the viceroy for consideration. A royal letter of 10 March 1598, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (857–61), gives the substance of a letter written to the king from Columbo on 27 November 1596 by Frey Grisostimo da Madre de Deos, guardian of the convent of São Francisco in Ceylon, in which serious charges are brought against Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo and Thomé de Sousa de Arronches, of taking bribes, conniving at rebellion, peculation, torturing natives in order to get possession of their wealth, &c. (*Cf. M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 210–1.) Although the viceroy was ordered by the king to inquire into these accusations, I cannot find that the offenders were punished, at least, not immediately (see *infra*, p. 433, note [1]).

[3] Bald. *Ceylon* v.; *Maháv.* xciv.; *C. Lit. Reg.* vi. 333.

of "Sun of the Pure Doctrine," the erstwhile Dom João d'Austria set to work actively to rescue the Buddhist cult from the decay into which it had fallen owing to the fanaticism of the Saivite Rája Siṇha on the one hand and the bigotry of the Portuguese and their puppet "Christian" kings on the other[1]. Though not now needing to take the field in person at the head of his troops, Vimaladaham exercised a keen oversight of all the movements of his army, which continued to harass and be harassed by the Portuguese forces in various parts of the lowcountry during 1595 and 1596, though, with the exception of the engagements mentioned above, details are wanting to us[2].

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[1] *Maháv.* xciv. *Cf. C. Lit. Reg.* vi. 325–6, 341, 342.

[2] See *infra*, p. 411, note [3].

COUTO.

DECADE XII.

1596–1600 A.D.

Portuguese Governor of India.—D. Francisco da Gama, count of Vidigueira, viceroy, May 1597 to December 1600.

Siṇhalese Ruler in Ceylon.—Vimaladaham Súrya, 1592–1604 (Kandy).

Tamil King in Jaffna.—Pararája Ṣékara Paṇḍára (?), 1591–??.

Portuguese Captain-General of Ceylon.—D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, 1594–1612.

In this half Decade are described engagements between the Portuguese forces and those of Vimaladaham Súrya in all parts of the lowcountry in the west and south of Ceylon, in which the former generally won their victories pretty dearly. We are also told of the erection of a number of additional fortresses by D. Jeronimo de Azevedo to aid in the "conquest" of Ceylon. Couto's narrative ends with September 1600.

DEC. XII., BK. I., CHAP. vi.

Of what took place in the conquest of the island of Ceilão this summer: and of the great victories that our people obtained over the tyrant Dom João, who intitled himself king of Candea: and of the death of the king of Cota Dom João Perea Pandar: and of how he left nominated as heir to his kingdom the king of Portugal, who was forthwith sworn to as such.

In the Eleventh Decade, in the time of Matias d'Alboquerque, we have continued with the wars of Ceilão by the course of the years[1]: and as the events were many and trifling, we described

[1] The mention of Mathias de Albuquerque, whose administration lasted from May 1591 to May 1597, would seem to imply that no wars took place in Ceylon during the government of his predecessor, Manuel de Sousa Coutinho (May 1588 to May 1591). That this was not the case I have shown above (pp. 390–2).

only those of most importance, because history does not permit of so much. In the past year we left the affairs of that island at the great victories that Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo, captain-general of that conquest[1], obtained over the tyrant Dom João, intitled king of Candea, within the limits of that kingdom and of Dinavaca[2]. Now we shall continue with those of this summer, in which things centred in the fort of Corvite[3], which Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo ordered to be made six leagues from Ceitavaca at the end of the past February [1597], in which there remained as captain Salvador Pereira da Sylva with one hundred men and the provisions of munitions and food that seemed to him necessary. This fort having been made, the general dispatched the Portuguese and native soldiery to go and recuperate, in order afterwards with new energy and strength to return and carry on that war. Of this the tyrant Dom João was soon advised; and discussing with the other rebels that followed him as to the satisfaction that they should take from our people for the many evils they had done them, because if they were negligent it was certain that they would put a heavy yoke on the whole of that island, it was agreed that the king of Uvá[4] should unite with the princes of Dinavaca[5], the which they at once did with some four thousand men, much musketry and war elephants, and came and pitched their camp six leagues from our fort of Corvite[6], with the intention of assaulting it, it having only a small garrison; and from there they sent two thousand men of their vanguard to go and place themselves two leagues from that fort[7] without moving themselves: because they purposed first to get all that district, which was under our obedience, to rebel, so that thus the conquest and entrance of that fort might

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[1] Here Couto employs an expression that came into use after the great disaster of 1594, Ceylon being generally referred to as "the conquest" (*cf. infra*, XII. I. vii., p. 416).

[2] I can nowhere find details of, or even references to, these "great victories."

[3] Kuruviṭa (*cf. supra*, p. 405, note [4]). By the present road Kuruviṭa is about twenty miles (say five Portuguese leagues) from Sítávaka.

[4] The editions of 1645 and 1788 both have "Vuá." The king of "Úva" here spoken of I cannot identify. It will be seen from XII. III. iii. *infra* (p. 439) that ere long he was deposed from his high position on account of being defeated several times in succession by the Portuguese.

[5] Who these two "princes" were, I do not know.

[6] Probably at Pẹlmadulla, which is about twenty miles from Kuruviṭa.

[7] At Ratnapura, doubtless

become easier to them. And with this they also intended to divert the general to the frontier of the Four Corles, so as not to be able to succour those of Corvite; and to that part moved the tyrant Dom João with all the rest of the force: since, with our people occupied in so many parts, they could effect their purposes. Of all this the captain-general was soon advised by spies that he kept near the tyrant.

Wherefore with much speed he ordered to be mustered all the men of war white and black, with whom he took the field; and learning that the tyrant had dispatched a number of troops to go and assault our *tranqueira* of Ruanella[1], and disquiet the vassals of that part, he dispatched Antonio da Costa, a captain-major of part of the native troops, with orders that if he should need more men he was to get them from the garrisons of Ceitavaca and others that could well dispense with them with safety. With these troops he went making a circuit through the Four Corlas, upon which the enemy whom the tyrant had sent to that part straightway retired; and word coming to the general that the enemy were approaching the fort of Corvite, he dispatched the greater portion of the arrayal to go and succour it, leaving only a *modeliar* with five hundred *lascarins* in guard of the frontiers of the Seven Corlas; and he sent orders to Salvador Pereira, who was in the fort of Corvite, that without delay he was to sally forth from it, and go and assault the enemy's arrayal with the greatest caution and secrecy that he could: which he at once did on the troops' reaching him, and went by night by unfrequented roads, through jungles and thorny plains, until he reached the place where was the vanguard of the enemy, quite unsuspicious of such a surprise. And before they knew what it was, the greater part of them were routed and slain; and those that escaped being put to flight, Salvador Pereira pursued them so hotly, that as if intermingled with them they came upon the rearguard, upon which they fell with such impetus and fury, that they immediately gained an entrance to the interior of the arrayal, where they routed them with the loss of many killed, among whom were the principal *modeliares*, and two handsome elephants captured, with many arms, banners, and other spoils: and it is affirmed that there died of the enemy in these assaults more than a thousand, and many that were taken prisoners, the princes of Maturé[2] and Dinavaca escaping in the darkness of the night. This victory was so famous and put such terror into the Chingalás, that they bestowed upon Salvador Pereira the surname of *Corvite Capitão*. Of

[1] See *supra*, p. 405, note [6].

[2] Who the "prince of Maturé" was, I am unable to say.

our *lascarins* some died, and a young *modeliar* called Dom Francisquinho[1], who fought very well. The next day Salvador Pereira ordered to be razed to the ground all the enemy's forts, and returned to Corvite, this victory (as we have already said) gaining amongst the Chingalás great name and fame.

Don Jeronimo d'Azevedo seeing how demoralized the enemy were ordered a *tranqueira* to be made on the other side of the river Sofragão[2] in the place called Batugedrá[3], it being more convenient for assaulting and demoralizing the enemy: whereupon he found himself so weakened and disappointed of his hopes, that he soon withdrew to Candea, and the fort was dismantled. That which our people made was twenty leagues from Columbo[4] inland, in the midst of all those of the enemy, by which they were greatly repressed. This took place this winter in which we now are of 1597.

During the same time, on the 27th or 28th of the month of May of the same year, there died the king Dom João Perea Pandar[5], lord of the whole island of Ceilão, to whom was given the most sumptuous interment that the country of itself could give[6]; and immediately the captain-general Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo ordered to be summoned to Columbo all the fidalgos of the household of that king, *modeliares*, and principal persons, and on the 29th of May they all assembled, there being present Thomé de Sousa d'Arronches, captain of

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[1] This diminutive form implies, doubtless, that the mudaliyár was short of stature.

[2] The Kaḷu-gaṅga.

[3] From what is stated here it would seem that either the writer of the *Vida de Mathias de Albuquerque* is wrong in saying that a "fort" was built at Baṭugedara by Dom Jeronimo (see *supra*, p. 405), or else that fort had been captured by the Siṇhalese, and is the one spoken of below as destroyed by the Portuguese (see, however, *infra*, p. 422, note [1]).

[4] The distance given is excessive.

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 102, note [2]. As Dharmapála was born probably in 1539 (see *supra*, p.119, note [1]), he must have been about 58 at the time of his death, the cause of which is not stated, but which must have been accelerated by the worries to which the unfortunate "king" was subjected by the captain-general and the captain of Columbo (see *supra*, p. 406, note [4]).

[6] Dharmapála was buried in the church of S. Francisco, and his tomb was still extant in 1762, but appears to have perished or been wantonly destroyed at a later date (see *M. Lit. Reg.* i. 238; C. A. S. Jl. xviii. 366).

that fortress, aldermen, officials of the chamber[1], *ouvidor*[2], and prelates of St. Francis. And all being present, he commanded to say to them by the *ouvidor* João Homem da Costa, that they all knew well that the king Dom João Perea Pandar, lord of the whole of that island, had in his testament left nominated as heir of all his realms the king of Portugal, owing to his having no one else left to him who by right should succeed him in that crown[3]; and that since all were there, both nobles and people, fidalgos and principal *modeliares*, they should elect from amongst themselves the persons that they desired in order in the name of all to swear to the said lord as king, it not being possible for all to take the said oath. And at once there were nominated by them the following persons: Dom Antão, Dom Constantino, Dom Jorge, Dom João, Dom Pedro Homem Pereira, fidalgos of the household of the deceased king[4]; Belchior Botelho *modeliar*, Domingos da Costa *arache*, and Thomé Rodriguez *patangatim*[5], all of whom and each one by himself kneeling round a table with their hands placed on a missal took the following oath:—

"We Dom Antão, Dom Constantino, Dom Jorge, Dom João, Dom Pedro Homem Pereira, Belchior Botelho, Domingos da Costa, and Thomé Rodriguez swear on these holy gospels, on which we place our hands, for ourselves and in the name of all this people to acknowledge the king of Portugal, whom thus by this present act we elect and swear to as our king and lord, forasmuch as Dom João Perea Pandar, whom God has in heaven, our lawful king, left him as his universal

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[1] This is the first (and only) mention by Couto of the chamber of Columbo, which, like that of Goa, consisted of aldermen elected annually and other officials (see *Rise of Port. Power in India* 197–8). When this municipal council was first constituted, I do not know: the earliest reference to it that I have met with is that in the royal letter of 25 February 1585 cited above, p. 268, note [1], and it is frequently mentioned in later documents (*cf.* C. A. S. Jl. xvi. 119 and note).

[2] Magistrate (see Pyr. i. 498, ii. 19).

[3] See *supra*, p. 258, note [2], and X. I. vii. (p. 261).

[4] In a petition to the pope and the viceroy of India, dated in Columbo 10 December 1594, and printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii., Dharmapála speaks of "Dom Joaõ and Dom Constantino sons of the prince Dom Paschoal my much loved and loyal vassal," and of "Dom Antaõ in whom I greatly confide." The last of the fidalgos mentioned was evidently a recent convert to Christianity, bearing, as he does, the name of the late captain of Columbo.

[5] This man was probably the head of the Paravas who had migrated from the "fishery coast" of Madura to Mannár and the west coast of Ceylon (see *supra*, p. 393). For the origin of the title *patangatim* see J. P. Lewis's *Man. of the Vanni* 30, note [3].

heir, there being no other who of right may have and can inherit his crown and realms. Wherefore we swear once more on the holy gospels, on which we have our hands, and promise to keep faith and loyalty towards him, and to obey him, and yield vassalage both to him and to his successors who shall in the future succeed him, or to his viceroys, governors, or captains, who in his stead shall hold office in these realms of Ceilão, as until now we have done to the king Dom João Perea Pandar, whom God has in glory, our lawful king that was: and thus we promise to keep and fulfil it, as in any other part of his realms and dominions: which we swear today the things above, so and in such manner as they are set forth: which we again swear once more and many more times on the holy gospels, and promise to keep them entirely, both for ourselves and in the name of this people."

This swearing being ended, the captain-general took in his hands the royal banner of the arms of Portugal, and delivered it to Dom Antão; and forthwith the captain-general and the captain of the city and all the rest of the people proceeded through all the principal streets with the banner raised; and in the appointed places Dom Antão lifted up his voice, saying: "*Real, real, real*[1], for the most mighty lord the king of Portugal"; to which all responded: "*Real, real, real.*" And this ceremony being finished, a deed was drawn up of this swearing by Manoel Correa da Costa, notary public of notes, in the book of these, to which all the persons named affixed their signatures; and the copy of the deed I have in the Torre do Tombo, in the book of contracts and treaties of peace, at page 143, whence I have copied it here[2]. And immediately from thenceforward the king of Portugal was obeyed and acknowledged as king of the realms that Dom João Perea Pandar possessed[3].

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[1] Lit "royal." The word of acclamation used by the Portuguese at a coronation.

[2] The original appears to be no longer in existence.

[3] In a letter of 21 November 1598, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (918), the king of Spain acknowledges the receipt of the news of Dharmapála's death, and commends the action of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo in taking possession of the kingdom in his name. He requests that formal deeds be drawn up in connection with this inheritance, and orders that "in the place where the said king died certain exequies be performed with all the solemnity that may be." From a royal letter of 27 December 1598 (*A. P.-O.* iii. 938) we learn that the chamber of the city of Columbo had written to the king respecting Dona Isabel, Dharmapála's widow, who had also sent the king a letter about her affairs, which seem to have been in a very poor condition, to judge by references in subsequent royal letters of 25 January 1601 and 15 February 1603.

DEC. XII., BK. I., CHAP. vii.

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...... The count[1] continued ...... in dispatching[2] a galleon to Ceilão[3], as captain of which went Rui da Costa Travaços, with soldiers, munitions, and money for that conquest[4]. ......

DEC. XII., BK. I., CHAP. xiii.

Of the things that took place this summer in the island of Ceilão : and of the great victory that our people gained over the king of Uva and the captains of the tyrant of Candea Dom João.

The tyrant Dom João, undeceived as to being able to prevail against our people, by the many victories that they had gained over him, and the last had been the defeat of his troops in Corvite, as we have related above, seeing that by the garrisons and fortifications that our people had formed against him on his frontiers of the Four Corlas and Dinavaca he could not in those parts carry out what he had determined, took other means, which was, to send and attack our arrayal, which was scouring the parts of Galé and Maturé, forty leagues from those other *tranqueiras*[5] and from the place in which the general always resided[6], thinking that owing to the distance of the place he could not succour our people with as much readiness and numbers as was necessary, there not being a great force in that arrayal, and with it broken, our people would be left with less to persecute him, and he with more courage to carry his intention forward : against which he dispatched a prince called Madune Pandar[7], and the rebel Simão

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[1] The Conde de Vidigueira, D. Francisco da Gama, viceroy of India.

[2] In September 1597.

[3] The usual annual supply galleon.

[4] *Cf. infra*, p. 421, note [2].

[5] The distance here given is a gross exaggeration.

[6] Where this was, does not appear : perhaps it was at Rasapána, near Malvána (see C. A. S. Jl. xi. 470; Lee's trans. of Le Grand's Ribeiro 49).

[7] Couto makes no other mention of this man, who was at intervals a source of trouble to the Portuguese during nearly a quarter of a century. Sá y Menezes (C. A. S. Jl. xi. 467) says that he was a descendant of the great Máyádunné; while the document in *Col. de Trat.* i. 224 states that he was of royal blood, and a cousin of Dona Catharina's. The former writer in his fifth and sixth chapters describes the Portuguese campaign against "Madune" in 1619–20, which ended in his defeat and flight to Koṭṭiyár, where the Danish admiral, Ove Giedde, for a

Correa[1], brother of Domingos Correa Bicanarsinga[2], of whom I have many times spoken, whom D. Jeronimo de Azevedo had ordered to be executed, as has been related in the chapter of the book of the Eleventh Decade[3]. This Simão Correa had taken the title of king of Seitavaca[4], to whom the tyrant gave a fair-sized army of picked troops and of the most practised *modeliares* of his kingdom, and among these there would be a thousand firelocks; and he commanded the king of Uva[5] to get ready with the rest of his forces, to go in his rear and support him.

This army having set out proceeded to encamp six leagues from Maturé, where our arrayal was, the captain-major of which was Dom Fernando *modeliar*[6], who today[7] is captain

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while gave him protection on board one of his ships, but had at last to leave him behind (see Ove Giedde's diary *passim*). He then returned to Tanjor, whence he had come (*Col. de Trat.* i. 224). Bocarro mentions him once casually (714). See also C. A. S. Jl. xiii. 137.

[1] What Simão Correa's native name was, does not appear, the *Rájávaliya* (99) describing him simply as "Edirillérā̤la's younger brother." He seems to have revolted from the Portuguese at the same time as his brother Domingos Correa (see *supra*, pp. 405, 406). Couto mentions him only once again (p. 426); but he played a prominent part in Ceylon history in later years, having returned to the Portuguese, married a Portuguese wife, and become a veritable scourge to his fellow-countrymen (see *Rájáv.* 99–101; Bald. *Ceylon* vi.). He was always a suspect, however; and in 1612 and 1613 the king of Spain sent out orders that he and his wife and household were to be transported to Goa: these orders were, however, not carried out (see *Doc. Rem.* ii. 134, 309, iii. 200). His death is recorded by the *Rájávaliya*, but no year is given. The memory of his cruelties seems to have survived among the Sinhalese for many years (see C. A. S. Jl. 1848, 24, where "Cawi" is evidently an error for some corruption of "Correa"). Knox (*Hist. Rel.* 177) specifies one form of his cruelties; and Tennent (*Ceylon* ii. 24, note) goes out of his way to father this on the Portuguese, though Knox distinctly says that Simão Correa was "a Natural *Chingulays.*"

[2] This last word is not to be understood as a name, but as a title, meaning "commander-in-chief" (see *supra*, p. 225, note [8]).

[3] The chapter and book of the Eleventh Decade are not specified in either of the editions of Decade XII. (1645 and 1788). Regarding the execution of Domingos Correa see *supra*, p. 407.

[4] In succession to Jayavíra Baṇḍára, murdered by the Portuguese in 1594 (see *supra*, pp. 396, 402).

[5] The edition of 1645 has in every case "Vva."

[6] See *supra*, p. 406.

[7] That is, in 1611, when Couto wrote this half Decade (see Introd.).

of the city of Goa[1], and Salvador Pereira da Sylva, field captain. The enemy, in order to fortify themselves, selected a very elevated site[2], where they sat down, and fortified it at their will, like one who was in his own country, and they had many pioneers and material. And so in a few days they erected a *tranqueira* of wood with six bastions and ditches around, and enclosed with many pointed stakes and impediments, an affair very defensible, more by the site than by art, although they were not wholly wanting in this, since it could not be battered by artillery, nor could any be carried above, on account of having to pass many marshes. And from there they determined to dominate those territories, and make them rebel against our people, they being under our obedience: and like men of guile they took in hand to get the *lascarins* to desert from our arrayal, with whom they carried on a secret correspondence, promising them many things, in order thus, having effected this, to defeat our people more at their ease.

Of this expedition and design Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo was promptly advised: whereupon with great speed he dispatched Simão Pinhão[3] with six hundred native *lascarins* and some Portuguese, with an order to take another hundred soldiers from the fortress of Galle[4], whereby were made up one hundred and fifty Portuguese and two thousand *lascarins*, which was a force sufficient to attack that fort. Dom Fernando *modeliar*, as soon as this force joined him, proceeded forthwith to attack the enemy; and when he reached the top they were already on the alert, and retired inside the fort with one thousand firelockmen, leaving ambushed in the jungle two thousand *lascarins* with the most trusty *modeliares*, with orders to fall upon our people in the rear, when they were most occupied with the assault. Dom Fernando did not seek to delay the business, but rather at once with great determination attacked the enemy, for which purpose he had already brought many pavises, mantelets, and ladders; and in the storming of the *tranqueiras* they came upon the pointed stakes, in which they became entangled, and halted, remaining exposed to the matchlock fire of the enemy, who made very fair practice

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[1] When he was granted this post, I cannot ascertain. A royal letter of 28 March 1613 (*Doc. Rem.* i. 440) refers to his having served in that captaincy, and as then occupying that of Chaul.

[2] Judging by the distance (24 miles) mentioned above, we may surmise that the Kandyan position was at Kaṭuwana, where the Dutch subsequently built a fort, the remains of which still exist (see view and description of it in Heydt, 217, 218).

[3] Regarding this man see C. A. S. Jl. xvi. 84–114.

[4] See *supra*, p. 404, note [3].

amongst them, knocking over some *lascarins* and wounding some Portuguese, among whom were Simão Pinhão, Pero d'Abreu *modeliar*, and others. And nevertheless our men pushed on, and attacked the fort with great courage, setting up the ladders, by which several began to mount. And being in this turmoil, those of the ambush burst forth with great uproar, and fell upon the rear of our men, who on being aware of them forsook the combat, and turned upon the enemy with great fury, and charged into them in such fashion that with the loss of many killed they made them retire to the jungle whence they had come.

Dom Fernando *modeliar* seeing the result, and, like a sagacious man, understanding that if they left there the territories would be lost, fortified himself in the same place as best he could, and sent to advise the captain-general of everything, and of the position in which the enemy remained. Upon receipt of this message he at once dispatched his brother Dom Manoel d'Azevedo with some companies of soldiers, whom he ordered to come from Seitavaca[1] and from the garrisons of the frontiers of Dinavaca[2], of which the tyrant Dom João soon received advice: and with the same promptitude he dispatched the king of Uva with three thousand men to succour his troops, with orders that before the succour reached our people he was to endeavour to come up with them, and fall upon them and defeat them, which would be easy for him, the way being shorter for him. And so he arrived with great quickness, and encamped three leagues from our arrayal[3], whence he sent to advise those in the fort and those hidden in ambush to be ready to fall upon our people from all sides on the following day.

Dom Manoel d'Azevedo also made such haste, that he arrived almost at the same time. The night that the king of Uva arrived the *modeliar* Dom Fernando heard many firelock shots; and guessing what it was, he dispatched a spy to go and bring word of what he found, who shortly after returned, and said that it was the king of Uva, who was encamped at a little over a league; and giving an account of everything to Salvador Pereira and the other captains, they were all of opinion that they should go that same night and attack him in his encampment before he should join the others. And he forthwith dispatched Simão Pinhão and Dom Anrique *modeliar* with all the native *lascarins*; and such haste did they

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[1] See *supra*, p. 405, note [3].

[2] See *supra*, p. 405, note [4].

[3] Probably in the Bulutoṭa pass, which is about the distance mentioned (say twelve miles) from Kaṭuwana.

make, that in the daylight watch they fell upon the enemy, and attacked them with great determination and vigour; and as they took them unawares, they made great havoc amongst them. And not knowing what it was, they were on the poin of being totally routed; but recovering themselves, they took their arms in their hands, and commenced to wield them with great spirit, whereby our *lascarins* were almost put to the rout, had it not been for the prowess of Simão Pinhão, who was much feared by the Chingalas, who that day did such wonders, that he put the king of Uva completely to the rout, and went pursuing him for a long distance, in which he killed many of his men, and captured many arms and spoils.

With this victory our people returned to the arrayal, the which gave such courage to the rest, that at once they proceeded to attack those in the *tranqueira*, carrying some cavaliers of wood, which they had made for the purpose, in order to engage them with firelocks from the top, which they did so determinedly, and with so much injury to them, that they reduced them to desperation, through seeing that our people did not try to take them by assault, but to destroy them little by little with their harquebusery until they had them in their hands. And seeing themselves so hard pressed they determined to flee one night at all risks: and so in the first watch they sallied forth from the *tranqueira* with their arms in their hands, and like desperate men attacked our people to see if they could break them, and pass between them, who were not so negligent but straightway they were aware of them; and getting them in their midst, they wrought such havoc and destruction amongst them, that there escaped only the two rebel princes, who during the confusion slunk away, and in the darkness of the night concealed themselves in the thickets. Here died the flower of the troops of Candea, and the principal *modeliares*, who made more war on our people than all others. In the fort were left all the arms and spoils of the enemy, which were many.

There took part in this affair Salvador Pereira da Sylva, field-captain, Dom Manoel d'Azevedo, Simão Pinhão, Antonio da Sylva d'Afonseca, João Teixeira de Meirelles, João Serrão da Cunha, Felipe d'Oliveira[1], Simão Rabello, Gregorio da Costa de Sousa, a certain Pereira, Pero d'Abreu *modeliar*, Dom Anrique *modeliar*, and many others that have

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[1] Mentioned several times in the latest portion of Bocarro's work as *disáva* of the Seven Kóraḷés. In 1618 he was appointed field-captain-major by D. Constantino de Sá e Noronha, in 1620 he reconquered Jaffna, and in March 1627 he died there (see C. A. S. Jl. xi. 496, 516, 568; Rib. II. i.).

not come under my notice, and Dom Fernando *modeliar* as captain-major[1], all of whom did great feats. This took place in the month of October past of 1597[2].

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[1] So pleased was the king of Spain with the news of this victory, that he bestowed upon Dom Fernando the order of Christ and a village in Ceylon producing an annual rent of five hundred *pardáos* (see *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 165, note).

[2] On 17 December 1597 the Goa chamber, in their annual letter to the king, wrote (*A. P.-O.* i. II. 53) :—" On the affairs of Ceilão we made our comments last year to your majesty [see *supra*, p. 408, note [2]], and no others now offer themselves except to repeat those same ones with greater vehemence, in order that this conquest do not drain us dry as it is doing, and we lose the present opportunity, for which those of old so longed, to be able with one less advantageous than this to annex this island to the state, as, without head and without limbs, it was offered to us in due season, with four rebels demoralized; but yet the desired effect cannot be attained without a separate force from that kingdom [Portugal], as the count must be writing to your majesty." Of the " four rebels " Simão Correa was one, and probably Antonio Barreto (see *infra*, p. 439, note [1]), was another; while a third may have been Kannañgara árachchi (see C. A. S. Jl. xi. 467; *Rájáv.* 99); the fourth may have been Kuruppu mudali (see *Rájáv.* 99; Boc. 498). Further on in the same letter the Goa chamber say (*A. P.-O.* i. II. 59) :—" André Furtado de Mendonça has always resided in this city with many charges and expenses, and ready for any occasion of service to your majesty, whereby he is much in debt, and now he has been chosen by the count viceroy for the conquest of Ceilão, which he accepted with that zeal and integrity that he has always had on all occasions of service to your majesty, and as a captain so fortunate and of such experience we hope that he will obtain the result that we desire by succeeding in reducing that island entirely to obedience to your majesty; and for all these reasons he deserves to be encouraged by your majesty with honours and rewards." What was the reason of the intended supersession of D. Jeronimo de Azevedo by André Furtado de Mendoça we learn from a letter from the new king of Spain (Philip II. died on 17 September 1598) written on 10 December 1598, printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (932–4). Therein Philip III. acknowledges the receipt of a letter, dated 15 December 1597, from the viceroy, in which the latter expresses his intention of prosecuting the conquest of Ceylon, " and of sending as general thereof André Furtado de Mendoça, because of his parts and experience, and because of the natives of those parts fearing him on account of the good success that he had in Jafanapatão, and on account of being liked by the soldiers, and in order that Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo who was there might be able to come and rest, for which he begged with much urgency, and because of his being somewhat harsh to the soldiers, and," says the king, " that you had determined to send with the said André

DEC. XII., BK. I., CHAP. xiv.

Of another great victory that our people gained in Ceilão.

These victories having been gained over this tyrant, Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo ordered the arrayal to withdraw to the fort of Batugedere[1], on the frontiers of Dinavaca, of which there went as head Salvador Pereira, and with him Simão Pinhão, in order to carry on in those parts all the war they could against the tyrant, both in the Seven and in the Four Corlas, where the enemy likewise sought to make war so as to divert the captain-general from that which our people were waging in the parts of Maturé, where there remained sufficient troops for that purpose, considering that the parts in which the general had ordered this war to be waged were

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Furtado five hundred Portuguese soldiers in addition to those that were there, and of men of the Christian topazes of the country [orig. has *serra*, "mountain region," probably an error for *terra*] as many as could be got, and all the money possible, although all was less than what André Furtado asked for, but much more than what Dom Jeronimo proposed for continuing the conquest; and that all the persons of importance and experience of that island told you that it was not expedient to make great assaults and with many men by land because of its being mountainous and unsuitable to a regular army, but rather that it was better counsel to prosecute the conquest with continual and prolonged warfare, seizing on opportunities as they came of their own accord, and thus wearying and breaking the spirits of the Chingalás, and that by this means with little risk and with ease that island could be subjected: and," continues the king, "I thank you much for what you have done in this matter, and for the considerations and discussions of this procedure of yours therein, which once more I strongly commend to you, referring to all that I have expressly commanded you in regard to this as I have reminded you above; and because of the good successes that Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo has had in this conquest, the experience that he has of it, and the good manner in which he has served therein, and in the other things with which he was incharged, I consider it to my service that he go on continuing in the same enterprise, and that if André Furtado have not gone thither you let Dom Jeronimo remain there, and that you send him the necessary men and provisions conformably to what he asked you for, and if André Furtado have departed you do the same with him, and that you hold Dom Jeronimo in the esteem that by his services he merits." Why André Furtado was not sent to Ceylon does not appear: Couto does not mention him in this Decade until September 1599, when he records his election as captain-major of the Malabar armada. As regards the supply sent to Ceylon at this time see *supra*, XII. I. vii. (p. 416), and *infra*, XII. II. i. (p. 428).

[1] *Cf.* p. 413 *supra*. The "fort" here spoken of is evidently the "*tranqueira*" mentioned there.

weak and had only a small force. And he was given courage for this by a victory that he gained over the native troops on our side[1], which was the cause of some vassals of those parts of Seitavaca and Cota rebelling; and these territories which thus rebelled, the tyrant sought to support and defend, for which purpose he commanded a fort to be made on the confines of the Four Corlas[2], in which he placed a large and good garrison of soldiers and *modeliares*. As soon as the general had advice of this he ordered all the troops that he had in those parts to unite, and to fortify themselves in the village of Atanagale, in which was stationed as captain Francisco Pimentel, it being a strong position and suited for withstanding the enemy and for making the rebellious territories return to their obedience. This fort Simão Pinhão caused to be made[3]. The tyrant was much exasperated at this, and commanded that war to be prosecuted with much ardour: wherefore the whole force concentrated in the fort of Atanagale, whence our people made various assaults on the territories of the enemy, in which they killed and captured many, whereupon part of the rebellious territories returned to their obedience, and the tyrant proceeded to retire, and our people to go forward another day's march in order to get near to him, because they greatly desired to encounter him.

The tyrant seeing himself so hard pressed ordered a good fort to be made on the top of a hill close to our force, and within our territories, both in order to support those that were under his obedience and the better to secure his own and the other fort that he had on the confines of the Four Corlas, which was that on which they relied most of all. Our people learning of the fort that was being made close to them on the top of the hill assaulted it before it was completed, and entered it with such determination and courage, that, with a loss to the enemy of many killed, they gained it, and entirely razed it; and as those that were in the *tranqueira* of the Four Corlas did not seem willing to retire entirely from our territories, but rather were confident of dominating them thence by means of some fortifications that had been made by them in the passes where our people might attack them, the general ordered the arrayal to proceed thither; and in some skirmishes that they had there with the enemy they defeated them and put them

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[1] This Portuguese reverse was probably more serious than Couto cares to admit.

[2] I cannot identify the site of this fort.

[3] Couto does not again mention this fort, nor can I find any reference to it in other writers (*cf.* C. A. S. Jl. xvi. 92, note). Attanagalla occupies an important position, commanding roads in all directions.

to flight, and took from them all the fortifications, whereupon they vacated the territories, and retired to the limits of Seitavaca, and our people committed conspicuous cruelties on the inhabitants of the villages that had rebelled, as an example to the others.

The tyrant having learnt of this, and fearing that our people would go and attack his fort and *tranqueiras*, sought to divert them from this : to which end he sent the greater part of his force to the two princes of the Corlas, in order that they with the other rebels might go and attack our *tranqueiras* in the direction of Chilao[1] on the border of the sea, so as to draw our people thither, and thereby secure the territories that he desired. Of this the general soon had word, and advised those in the arrayal of everything, so that they might be ready and on the alert, in order to go and fall of a sudden upon the enemy, or attempt to enter their territories, so as to oblige them to desist from that design ; and because the locality in which they had their arrayal was far from our people, and on the road were great impediments of rivers and swamps, they would not be able to catch them without being discovered : wherefore they thought it better to enter their territories, and attack their city itself, the capital of the Seven Corlas[2], where the principal rebels were residing, who at that time were roving outside with all their forces, waging war on our territories, because they had in that city their riches, wives, and children. And so they went marching at full speed, resting neither night nor day, fighting with the enemy that were in guard of several passes ; and reaching the city that they had gone to seek, although they found it fortified with *tranqueiras* and ditches, they attacked it with such determination, that they entered it, killing a *modeliar* who was left there as captain and many soldiers, and the city was forthwith set fire to and burnt with all its wealth, which was much, in order that our men might not be hindered by the sack.

Having done this, our people retired in very good order, and avoiding the road by which the princes might come to succour their city ; and yet in those by which they retreated

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[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 405, note [8].

[2] Apparently Kurunẹgala is meant, though Couto nowhere mentions this place by name (*cf. supra*, p. 175, note [1]). In fact, though Bocarro and other Portuguese authorities speak of the "Cornagal Corla," I have found no reference to the town in any Portuguese writer. Knox enters "Cornogoll" in his map, but does not mention the place in his book. (See, however, *M. L. R.* iv. 155, where Mattégama is described as capital of the Seven Kóraḷés.)

they did not fail to have great trouble, since they passed a whole day fighting with garrisons that the enemy had in different passes, whom they always left wounded.

This affair becoming known to the princes who were carrying on the war within our territories, they left everything, and hastened thither: and during this journey our people sallied forth against them, and fell upon the garrisons that had been left in their *tranqueiras*, and slaying some and putting others to flight, they drove them out of the territories, and even entered those of the enemy, where they did much damage, and gathered many spoils. This took place between November past and the end of April of this year of 1598 in which we are. The tyrant Dom João was extremely enraged at these things, because in addition to the reputation that he lost with the Chingallas, he became less feared by our people, who had killed his principal captains and *modeliares*, the rest of whom had become so cowed, that they now carried on the war feebly and against their wishes, which were new weapons wherewith our people continued fighting with them.

And because the tyrant feared that with the succour that was coming to us from India our people would capture the fort that he had on the confines of the Four Corlas, in which lay all his strength and the security of those districts, he determined to undertake that affair in person, in order both the better to provide for the safety of that fort, and by his presence give energy to that war, and provoke and animate those inhabitants that were under our obedience to rebel and go over to him, so as to discourage our people, and divert the general from sending to make war on him as he was doing within his very house, and likewise to free his people from the evils with which they were continually menaced by the daring and the victories that our people daily gained. In this he did not succeed as he expected, because the general had so many spies on him, that he could not take a step or form a plan, of which he was not speedily advised: upon which he acted with the necessary promptness, because to this were always due the victories that he gained; and the tyrant, in order to effectuate what he aimed at, betook himself to Candea, and prepared two armies, one of a thousand picked soldiers, which he dispatched to the port of Putalão, in order to assist all the troops of that district, and to go against Chilao by the borders of the sea; and another of three thousand men, whom he ordered to go and fortify themselves on our frontier of the Seven Corlas: and this they did on the skirts of a hill, with the design that should the general order an attack on any of these they would fall upon our people in the rear, whereby they considered that they would obtain a certain victory over them.

The general being advised of everything reformed the arrayal by ordering all the native soldiery to attach themselves to it, which would be about two thousand two hundred Portuguese soldiers, the commander of whom was Salvador Pereira, and of the native troops Pinhão and Francisco de Brito : and he ordered them to go and fortify themselves in a place called *Tranqueira* Alanha[1], where they made a strong *tranqueira* of wood with its traverses, sentry-boxes, and ditches, so as to remain there in the midst of these two armies of enemies at an equal distance from one and the other, in order by this means to curb the enemy, and make them lose the pride they had and the hopes of prevailing against us, because thus they could not succour one another, their forces thereby being divided. And after having well fortified themselves our men sallied forth greatly puffed up, leaving the *tranqueira* well provided, and with great mettle proceeded to attack the arrayal in the direction of the Seven Corlas, on which they fell in the dawning watch so unexpectedly, that they caught them before they had yet finished the fort that they were making there, which was in the roots of a hill range, the woods on which they had cut down round about, leaving no more entrance to the fort than by two gorges, which likewise they had fortified with strong *tranqueiras*, and in them two thousand men ; and the rest of the army was on the hill above, with orders that, on being attacked by our men, they were to issue forth on one side and attack them in the rear.

As soon as our men reached the gorges they at once with great determination attacked the enemy ; but the latter discharged their ammunition, whereby they brought down several of our *lascarins*, and the rest began to retire, upon which the Portuguese hastened up and passed to the front, and attacked the enemy with so much energy, that in spite of the great resistance that they met with from them they forced their way in, killing one of the captains or *modeliares* and many of his men. And whilst taken up with this victory, there came upon them the rebel Simão Correa, who it was that was stationed on the hill above, and fell upon our men in the rear ; but as they were all flushed with pride, they turned upon him with an astonishing fury, and after the battle had lasted a long time they put the enemy to the rout and flight, and in the pursuit they killed many, and by the great mercy of God returned laden with arms, without its costing them more than two Portuguese and some native *lascarins*.

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[1] Apparently a misprint for "Alauha," that is, Allawwa (see C. A. S. Jl. xvi. 95, note).

Having gained this victory, Salvador Pereira, who was the captain-major of this expedition, dispatched a thousand native firelock-men with some Portuguese to go and fall upon the arrayal at Putalão[1], before they should have news of the defeat of this other one; and arriving at the fort that they had made there, they attacked it with the greatest determination, because, besides the enthusiasm with which they were filled, they carried additional arms, since they had doubled their firelocks with those that they had taken in the late victory; and with the same facility they entered the fort, many of the enemy being killed, among whom were five hundred Bagadás[2], people of the opposite coast, men of mettle, who had come in succour of the tyrant. The which caused such fear among the rest that had come over to that island, and among the others, when the news reached them there of the bad entertainment that our people had given them, that they did not desire again to try their luck under the banner of the tyrant. With this victory our men returned once more to their fort.

This news having reached the arrayal that the tyrant had in the Four Corlas, fearing that they would be immediately attacked by our people, they abandoned everything, and returned to Candea, because it seems that they were advised of the correspondence that the general carried on with those inhabitants in order to get them to return to the obedience from which they had rebelled through the industry of the tyrant Dom João, regarding which several leading persons had already been coming to discuss this matter with the general, which was effectuated, and he dispatched them together with the whole army (having already learnt of the victories that our troops had gained) to go and attack that fort, which they had already vacated, and where there remained only what the soldiers could glean; and they utterly dismantled it, in which they had labour enough, it being a large stronghold, and of much workmanship. With these victories the enemy was much demoralized, and our people greatly elated. There took part in these actions Felipe d'Oliveira, João Serrão da Cunha, Gaspar d'Azevedo, Francisco de Macedo[3], Francisco Gomez Leitão, son of the other of the same name[4], Antonio da Costa Monteiro, and other captains of companies and posts.

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[1] This is the first occasion on which we hear of this town in Couto's history.

[2] An error for "Badagás" (see *infra*, p. 443). On these people see *Hob.-Job. s.v.* "Badega"; and regarding their employment in Ceylon see C. A. S. Jl. xvi. 96.

[3] See *supra*, p. 225, note [5]

[4] See *supra*, p. 225, note [1]

DEC. XII., BK. II., CHAP. i.

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...... the count admiral ...... began to employ himself with the things that he had to send out, and the first was to dispatch the galleon of supplies for Ceilão[1], and in it Dom Pedro Manoel, brother of the Conde da Atalaya, first cousin of the count himself, as captain of Columbo[2], Thomé de Sousa d'Arronches, who held that post, having completed his time[3], which left at the beginning of October [1598]. ......

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DEC. XII., BK. II., CHAP. iv.

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...... And because a little before there had arrived[4] from Ceilão André Pereira Coutinho, son of Jorge Pereira Coutinho[5], former captain of Chaul, who went and reported

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[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 421, note [2].

[2] He did not hold the position for long (see *infra*, XII. IV. xiii. p. 441).

[3] See *supra*, p. 280, note [2], p. 406. As we have seen, Thomé de Sousa had held the post of captain-major of the Ceylon coast for eight years or more until 1595, when he succeeded Pedro Homem Pereira as captain of Columbo. On 7 March 1595 there was issued in Lisbon an *alvará*, in which the king said (*A. P.-O.* v. 1411–2) that in respect of Thomé de Sousa d' Arronches, fidalgo of his household, having served him in India twenty and odd years, as soldier, captain, and captain-major, and continuing to serve in the said parts, he made him the grant, in place of the 250 *pardáos* of allowance that were given him by the governor Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, of a village in the said parts of the same value. Accordingly, on 15 February 1601 the viceroy Aires de Saldanha issued at Goa a provision in which he permitted Thomé de Sousa to draw the said allowance of 250 *pardáos* from " the rent of the villages of Talaulim and Morombim in the island of this city of Goa, which are now vacant." I have mentioned above (p. 406, note [4]), certain charges brought against Thomé de Sousa by Dharmapála shortly before his death, among them misappropriation of rents of lands. The first document printed in *A. P.-O.* vi. is an order by the viceroy, dated 13 February 1601, for the resumption on behalf of the king of the rents of certain villages leased by Dharmapála, among the lessees being " Thomé de Sousa d'Arronches, to whom is leased the village Bocalagama, which is in Piligãocorla " (*i.e.*, Bókalagama in Hápiṭigam kóraḷé). For further facts relating to this man see *infra*, p. 433, note [1].

[4] At Cochin.

[5] See *supra*, p. 149.

himself at that fortress[1], for a banishment that he was under[2], learning of that occasion[3] he freighted a ship, and collected many soldiers to go with him. Dom Francisco de Sousa, son of Dom Pedro, who likewise on this occasion had arrived at Cochim from Ceilão, whither he had gone to report himself on account of having certain years of banishment to that island, and by leave of the general thereof had come to visit his house, likewise freighted a ship with soldiers, and went in succour of Cunhale[4].

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Dec. XII., Bk. iii., Chap. i.

Of what took place during this summer in the conquest of the island of Ceilão: and of the victories that our people gained over the tyrant of Candea: and of the handsome tranqueira *that Dom Jeronimo ordered to be made in the village of Manicravaré.*

Having gained the victories that we have related in the Seven Corlas, and demolished the enemy's *tranqueiras*, the general Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo determined to send and make a *tranqueira* in Manicravaré[5], so as to be nearer to the kingdom of Candea, in order to be able from there to conquer it, and to form in that *tranqueira* a magazine and *rendezvous* for war, and to remain there as a post and castle against the Four Corlas. This *tranqueira* he determined should be of stone, for better defence and safety of the troops that were to be in it: for which purpose he collected a large number of pioneers and artizans, and all the articles and materials necessary for

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[1] Columbo.

[2] I do not know what his fault was. Banishment to Ceylon to serve in the "conquest" there for a term of years was a common punishment at this period (see *supra*, p. 290, note [2], and *infra*, p. 433).

[3] The "occasion" was a projected expedition against the Malabar "pirate" Cunhale, for which an armada under D. Luiz da Gama had assembled at Cochin (in January 1599). For details of this disastrous expedition and the successful one of a year later see Pyr. ii. 514–27.

[4] This does not mean that he went to assist Cunhale against the Portuguese, but *vice versâ*. The expression is awkward, and "*socorro*" may be an error for some other word.

[5] Meṇikkaḍavara, in Kíraveḷi pattu, Beligal kóraḷé, Kẹ́galla District (see *Rep. on Kẹ́g. Dist.* 31–2).

that building, which he incharged on Salvador Pereira da Sylva, who set out with a large body of *lascarins*, and as many Portuguese soldiers as could be mustered; and one league before reaching the fort of Manicravaré, in September past of 1598, he pitched his camp, in which he remained several days, during which were collected the things necessary for the work that he was going to do, so as to do everything on the same day that he arrived: because he suspected that the tyrant designed to surprise our men the night they arrived, before they had made themselves secure, in order to impede that work, which would remain a source of great injury and prejudice to him, through their closing by means of it the gates of the kingdom of Candea, where he would be penned in. The materials having been collected, our people set out for the spot where the fortress was to be made; and on reaching it they at once fortified themselves; and when the following night came, in which the enemy had determined to assault them, there was already made a defensible fortress of wood, and our people within it very safe, and the enemy frustrated in their design without daring to make a move.

Our people at once took in hand the work of the fortress of stone, on which they spent the space of four months with great cost and labour; and having this, they did not fail to make some incursions into the tyrant's territories, from which they always returned victorious.

The tyrant seeing that he could not hinder that work determined to divert the general, to which end he proceeded with his army to the frontiers of Dinavaca, where he began to make war vigorously upon those territories that were ours; upon which the general hastened thither with another army which he formed of soldiers whom he took from the posts that they had in various parts, leaving them always with guards, of which he sent as captain Salvador Pereira da Sylva, to withstand the enemy, which he did, having with them several encounters, in which he defeated them.

The fortress of Manicravaré was continued until it was entirely finished, with its walls, bastions, and a tower in the middle of two stories, a work so well finished and strong, that it was held as inexpugnable throughout the whole island; and to it the general himself proceeded with the rest of the army at the beginning of the past January of 1599, and there made preparations for sending to invade the Corlas.

The tyrant soon learnt of this: and seeing how important it was for him to maintain those Corlas, both the Four and the Seven, because if they were lost the kingdom of Candea would become open, exposed, and diminished in its strength, he proceeded to those parts with his whole force, and that of

the king of Huva[1], in which there were nearly five thousand men and went and took up his position in the Seven Corlas, and from there dispatched a captain with part of the troops, to go and be near to our frontier fortresses. Upon which the general hastened and sent Salvador Pereira da Sylva with two hundred Portuguese and two thousand *lascarins*, who went marching along a river[2] that divides the Seven Corlas from the kingdom of Cota and Ceitavaca; and on the following day he sent part of the troops across to the other side, to go and reconnoitre the most suitable site for forming a camping ground for the arrayal, whilst they cleared and felled the jungle for it. Whilst our people were occupied with this work the enemy attacked them in many places; but as our men were constantly on the watch, and always went with their arms in their hands, they resisted them valorously; and after having a tolerable battle, they put the enemy to the rout, killing and capturing many, from whom they learnt that the king of Huva had come near to our arrayal, and was less than a league from it, with the intention of barring to our people the passage of the river, in order that they might not go and encamp their army in the village of Adegalitota[3], whence they could do much harm. Our people immediately advised the general of these things, who ordered all the rest of the troops to move in great haste, and as captain of them [4], who set off marching, and on the way captured three *tranqueiras*, which the enemy had made in narrow parts, and in them killed many of the enemy. And those that escaped went and gave warning to the king of Huva, who at once moved from the place where he was, and formed his army, and took the open field to await our people, who thought to find him unprepared. And when they appeared they found themselves surprised and in confusion, because the enemy at once attacked them with great fury; and as our people always went with their arms in their hands, they resisted them with such valour and energy, that in a short space of time they routed their vanguard, and drove them from the field with a good deal of damage. And recognizing the victory that God had given them, they went charging them, and

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[1] This spelling with initial *h* makes no difference to the pronunciation, *h* being silent in Portuguese.

[2] The Maha-oya.

[3] I have failed to identify this place (the surmise, in C. A. S. Jl. xvi. 98, note, that it is Degalatiriya in Kanduaha pattu, cannot be correct). In chap. iii. below it is called Galitota, and then Balitote. Possibly Uḍagaladeniya in Walgam pattu of Kinigoḍa kóraḷé is meant.

[4] In the printed editions the name is not given.

doing such great destruction, that they killed more than two hundred ; and in this pursuit they came upon the main body of the army, where was the king of Huva, and setting upon one another, our firelock-men did their duty well, whereupon the enemy halted until they once more joined their main body. Those of the vanguard, who were fleeing closely, turned round with such astonishing fury, that our men looked upon themselves as lost ; but understanding that the salvation of their lives lay in the valour and strength of their arms, they exerted the utmost of their strength, and like desperate men threw themselves amongst the enemy, among whom they wrought such cruelties, that they turned their backs on them and took to flight, and our men went charging them, like those that had already conquered them, doing great havoc amongst them. In this encounter the enemy lost two hundred, and many *modeliares*, and our people captured many arms and other spoils, and retired to the site of Adegalitota, where they erected their *tranqueiras* and fortifications at their will and without impediment. This took place at the end of the past January of 1599.

DEC. XII., BK. III., CHAP. ii.

Of a disturbance that there was amongst the soldiers of the conquest over their pay : and of the succour that the count sent to it by Dom Francisco de Noronha : and of what befel him on the voyage.

The victories that we have related above being past, with so much danger to the soldiers, they entered upon another greater and more to be feared and dreaded, which was hunger and lack of pay : because the soldiers that serve and take part in this conquest (whom I consider as the most practised and daring that there are in India), when they are full fed, will undertake without fear all the dangers in the world, and will fight like wild elephants[1]. And this lack of pay, which the general was expecting from India, they bore so badly, that many of them mutinied, and went off to the mountains, where they fortified themselves, and sallied forth in bands to seek food in the villages[2]. Of this the count viceroy soon had advice by letters from Ceilão : and seeing that it was necessary

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[1] *Cf.* what Couto says above on p. 356.

[2] We have heard several times already of the soldiers in Ceylon mutinying (see p. 257, note [4], p. 394, p. 406, note [7]), but never of their behaving as stated here. I have found no reference elsewhere to this outbreak.

for him to send help in that manner, knowing that in the port of Goa was a ship of Thomé de Sousa d'Arronches, captain of Columbo[1], he ordered to embark at once in it one hundred and fifty soldiers, twenty thousand *pardáos* in money, many provisions, munitions, spears, and firelocks, and chose as captain thereof to make this journey Dom Francisco de Noronha, who made sail shortly about the 20th of April of this year of 1599 in which we are. And besides the soldiers that were paid the count ordered to embark many that were in the jail sentenced to banishment: and thus there embarked some fidalgos: some that were going to serve, and others to fulfil their terms of banishment, and report themselves[2]. And those of whom I have been able to learn were André Pereira Coutinho[3], Luiz de Lacerda, Dom Manoel and Dom Rodrigo de Crasto, both brothers and natives of Baçaim, whom they called in India the *Mangaritos*, Rui Coadrado de Almadão, and others.

And while this captain was pursuing his course, when he was as far forward as Cananor, the banished men seized the boat in order to escape. By which one sees what force the loss of liberty has, that in what these men intended to do in fleeing they considered it a lesser evil to risk themselves to such a known evil as was the putting themselves into a boat in such dangerous winter weather, than to go to Ceilão against their will, it being a country where so many rejoiced to go and serve the king of their own accord, on account of the prosperity, coolness, and abundance that it possesses, and in which many times there are occasions when men enrich themselves[4].

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[1] Rather, late captain of Columbo (see *supra*, XII. II. I., p. 428). This is the last reference that Couto makes to this man. His signature appears, amongst others, to the last document printed in *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii., which is dated in Cochin, 15 December 1600. From a document printed in the *Arch. da Rel. de Goa* (5), dated in Lisbon, 20 March 1601, it would appear that there was some judicial process against Thomé de Sousa; but what was the complaint, and what the result, I cannot find. He was vice-admiral of the fleet under André Furtado de Mendoça that left Goa on 6 May 1601 against the Dutch. His subsequent history is unknown to me.

[2] See *supra*, p. 429, note [2].

[3] See *supra*, XII. II. iv. (p. 428).

[4] In *Arch. Port.-Or.* iii. (889) is printed an *alvará*, dated in Goa, 26 January 1598, in which the count viceroy states that he learns that several persons who had been banished to Ceylon had not gone there, but were going about with the Malabar armada: wherefore he orders that they forthwith embark for Ceylon with D. Francisco da Gama, captain of Guale (? Galle, or a galley), under pain of being sent in irons and having their terms doubled. On page 899 is another viceregal

Of this commotion and determination of these men Dom Francisco de Noronha had warning, and immediately took measures regarding it, ordering to place men of his command in the boat, over which he constantly kept a strict watch. And having passed Cape Comorim, he crossed that gulf in very rough weather, which lasted until he had sight of the land about Gale, and there they anchored two leagues out at sea, without knowing where they were. And fearing to put in to the coast by reason of the sea's being very high, and the wind violent, and the weather so cloudy that it showed and gave signs of the winter, which is there very dangerous, Dom Francisco de Noronha was very undecided as to what he should do, because there was a tumult among the soldiers, who wished to land at Tutocori ; in which he intervened and put a stop to, telling them and asserting to all that he was bound to go to Ceilão on account of the great need in which that conquest was of that succour ; because he knew very well, that if he went to Tutocori not one of those soldiers that he was carrying would remain, and that all the provisions and munitions would be spoilt and consumed. And that on account of the confidence that the viceroy had in him he chose him for that expedition, which he must on no account fail to make, and carry that succour to Columbo, even though he should risk all dangers even to the loss of his life, because thereby the king would be better served, and he would be fulfilling his duty. And so resolute was he in this, that he ordered the money, the firelocks, and munitions to be placed in casks and hogsheads, and the whole to be floated attached to thick and strong cables for the time of need. And he told the officers, that when there was no other resource they were to run the ship aground on that land that was in sight, at a part where the men and the things of value could be saved ; that he undertook to pay from his own fortune the owner for his ship. And there remaining nothing for him to do, seeing that there appeared a fine sandy beach, he ordered the boat to be brought alongside, and equipped her very well with oars and sailors, and asked one of the fidalgos that went with him to embark in her, and to go and land on the beach that was visible, and to try and get hold of some pilot who should guide them to a safe port ; from which the fidalgo

alvará, dated in Goa, 18 April 1598, which orders that all who had been banished to Ceylon and all who had been pardoned on condition of going to Ceylon were to embark therefor in that monsoon under pain of forfeiting their securities, having their terms doubled, and other penalties. From a note on page 3 of the *Arch. da Rel. de Goa* it seems that those offenders who took part in the expedition against Cunhale were pardoned, but to this there were exceptions.

excused himself. And there being some disputes between him and the captain, there offered himself one Alvaro de Barros, an old soldier, a worthy knight, who had the reversion of the captaincy of the port of Caleturé[1], and said to Dom Francisco de Noronha that he would go in the boat to make that investigation, and that he hoped in God that he would do it very well, which the captain accepted of him, and ordered to embark with him some companions, giving him orders to land at that beach; and that if he found there any village he was to endeavour to arrange for a pilot, or two, for which purpose he gave him money; and as the Chingalas would for it sell wife and children[2], if there were any there they would not fail to come.

After this boat had left, there appeared an *almadia*[3], which had put out from Gale, and on signalling to it it came to the ship, and from those that came in it they learnt the position in which they were, which was between Gale and Beligão. And as there was no one in it who knew how to guide them and show them the way, they dispatched the *almadia* with a letter to the captain of Gale[4], in which the captain of the ship gave him an account of the state in which he was, and begged him to send and help him with pilots who should take them into some safe port.

Such promptness did Alvaro de Barros put into this business that they intrusted to him, that he reached the land, and there engaged two pilots, whom he sent in the boat, and whom Dom Francisco de Noronha heartily welcomed, and asked them where it would be better to put in, at Gale, or at Beligão, and if they would venture to take that ship into either of those ports? and both said that Beligão was better, because its bar had at high tide from four to five fathoms of water, and that they would endeavour to take her in; but that they would not bind themselves to anything.

Having made his calculations, Dom Francisco de Noronha resolved to attempt the bar of Beligão, even though the ship should be imperilled; because, if the men, money, and munitions were saved, of all the rest he recked little. And having decided on this, he ordered the pilots to go to Beligão, that God in whom he confided would help them. And so they set sail, and arrived in front of the bar at the time when it was half tide, with which they attempted the bar, and came into

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[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 404, note [7]. I think that "port" here must be an error for "fort."

[2] *Cf.* Couto's opinion of the Sinhalese in V. i. v. (p. 66).

[3] See *supra*, p. 286, note [1].

[4] Perhaps D. Francisco da Gama (see note [4] on p. 433 *supra*).

seven fathoms ; and then further in they got into four, and further on into three and a half, whereupon Dom Francisco thought himself lost. And as he had everything attached to cables, and placed on the deck in order to throw them into the boat, he ordered it to be brought alongside, and let himself go. And it pleased God of his mercy that from three and a half fathoms they soon got into five, and afterwards the depth went on increasing, and those in the ship joying and rejoicing greatly, and so they came to anchor close to the land. And this was the first ship that entered the port[1], and thenceforward it became easy for all.

Dom Francisco de Noronha ordered to disembark all that he carried, and on land made his posts, and fortified himself very well, and dispatched a message to Gale, that they should send him servants to transport that material. Upon which there came Dom Fernando *modeliar*[2] with many people of the country, with whom Dom Francisco de Noronha began to march in very good order and with all precaution. And in the places where they had to halt to dine or sleep in a short space of time they fortified themselves all round : because as the servants were many, and the jungles great and dense, all was easily done. And for this reason several rebels whom they encountered did not dare to attack them. In this order they reached Columbo in safety[3], where they were much welcomed, and the general now had wherewith to pay and quiet the soldiers, whereupon he began once more to carry on the war, as we shall presently relate.

DEC. XII., BK. III., CHAP. iii.

Of other victories that our people gained in Ceilão in different parts.

The king of Huva, ashamed at being so many times defeated and fearing the tyrant Dom João, let himself remain in the Seven Corlas very far from the posts in which our men lay, and from the territory of Galitota[4], and there once more mustered the greater part of the troops that escaped from that rout. The tyrant Dom João, as soon as he saw the failure

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[1] We are not told the size of this ship. The Portuguese vessels that entered the bay in 1584 and 1588 were small and of light draught.

[2] Why he was in Galle, and not in Mátara, of which he was captain, we are not told.

[3] If they passed through Galle, it is strange that we are not told so.

[4] See *supra*, p. 431, note [3].

of that expedition, in which he had had such confidence, determined to unite his forces, and once more carry on the war in that part, which he could not do, because his people had become so timid after these events, and so disgusted with that war, that they were unwilling to take part in it, whereupon the tyrant used them with great cruelty, commanding many to be beheaded, and ordered to summon the king of Huva, who came, and went in person through his territories collecting troops until he had formed a respectable army: whereupon he once more dispatched that king with orders to keep clear of our people, and go and impede the designs of Dom Jeronimo, which were to oblige the natives of the *corlas* to return to the obedience in which they were before, in order thereby to be able more easily to endeavour the conquest of the kingdom of Candea and bring the war to his very doors, so as thus to pen him in in such fashion that either he would have to quit the territories, or he would so dog him, as at last to kill him or get him into his hands : the which the tyrant well understood, and strove all he could to divert him. And to this end he had secret communications with the *lascarins* of our army that was on the frontiers of Dinavaca, and by means of bribes got them to desert to him, whereby those territories underwent a change.

As soon as our people saw that the *lascarins* had deserted to the enemy, they withdrew to the forts of Corvite and Batugedere, where they were besieged, having the whole population against them. The general was at this time on the frontiers of Candea taken up with the conquest that he wished to make in that kingdom, whereby the enemy had opportunity of regaining courage, and of doing some damage in our territories, and invading them as far as in front of the *tranqueira* Malvana[1]. Having been advised of this, Dom Jeronimo provided the *tranqueira* of Manicravaré, in which he was, with three companies of soldiers, the captains of which were Thomé Coelho, who was head of all, João Serrão da Cunha, and Diogo de Araujo[2], and with food and munitions for many days. And he himself with a company of soldiers and eight hundred *lascarins* proceeded to the city of Seitavaca: it being in the middle of the whole kingdom, and closer to the frontier of Dinavaca, where the enemy were operating: against whom he dispatched Simão Pinhão with another company of soldiers and eight hundred *lascarins*, who encountered them in the village of Sofragão[3]; and after having had with them a well contested engagement, our men drove them

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[1] See *supra*, p. 405, note [1].

[2] The 1645 edition has "Arahuio."

[3] Ratnapura.

from the field, leaving behind them on it many dead: and thus Simão Pinhão had time to visit the forts of Corvite and Batugedere, to which had retired those that had been operating in the parts of Dinavaca, as we have said, which he provided very well with everything.

From here the general ordered Pinhão to proceed to the districts adjoining Malvana, where the rebels and the principal leaders of that rising now were. And the general himself likewise set off to another part, so that they got them in between them, and surrounded them in such a manner, that, having no resource, they surrendered, and returned to their obedience; and the general ordered those that had been the heads of that rising to have theirs cut off[1]; and afterwards went on little by little executing the most guilty, whereby he entirely extinguished that conflagration that had been devouring the land. The tyrant went putting all his strength into the *corlas*, in order to give the general something to think about, and to divert him from his intent: wherefore it was necessary for him once more to send the arrayal against that enemy, and in many engagements that they had there with his troops, our people always had the victory, and retired with many captives and prizes. Our arrayal that was in the *tranqueira* of Balitote[2] was likewise not idle during this time, because the king of Huva sent to attack it with more than six thousand men; but the captain Salvador Pereyra, who had already been advised thereof, before he arrived sent forth the native *lascarins* out of the *tranqueiras* to lie in ambush in the jungles, so that at the moment when they attacked it they should fall upon them in the rear, and rout them, of which they were afraid, and for that reason were unwilling to invest the *tranqueira*, but were ten days near it, attacking it by skirmishes, from which they always retired scathed.

And that he might leave nothing unattempted to divert and embarrass the general, the tyrant of Candea sent at the same time to attack the *tranqueira* of Manicravaré a captain of four thousand men, which they did with great determination; and for the space of half a day they carried on with our men a brisk interchange of harquebusery, by which many of them were left stretched on the field; and such bad entertainment did our men give them, that on the same day they withdrew, leaving the field strewn with many mutilated corpses.

The king of Huva, who was near our fort of Balitote, seeing that the time was spent without profit, and that he was in

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[1] The original has this play upon words.

[2] See *supra*, p. 431, note [3].

danger of being surprised and routed by our people, retired, because he also learnt that the general was sending to succour that *tranqueira*: and from there he proceeded to the districts of Chilao, leaving at a league from that *tranqueira* of Balitote a body of one thousand men, most of them with firelocks, in a *tranqueira* that he made in a pass, in order that the people in the adjacent villages collecting there might impede our people in their incursions into those parts, because they were apprehensive regarding all. The general being advised of this sent to attack them a captain with fifty Portuguese and three hundred *lascarins*, who put them to rout, entering their *tranqueira* and killing many. Upon this taking place, the king of Huva at once retired from the parts of Chilao, whither he had proceeded, both because there also he was badly received by our men, and because he feared that the general would send another force against him.

The tyrant of Candea seeing how badly all his designs had succeeded, and how many men he had lost in those assaults, attributed all to the cowardice of the king of Huva, wherefore he commanded him to return to Candea: and his office, which was that of field-captain-general, he gave to a prince of the blood of the ancient kings[1], a youth considered to be daring, who, wishing to show the tyrant that he had not been deceived in that appointment, at once moved with all the arrayal and the troops that the king of Huva had commanded against the fortress of Balitote, which the general had already succoured with men and munitions, which he attacked with some firelock skirmishes. And Salvador Pereyra, the captain of it, seeing that the enemy dared not invest it, sallied forth against him with a body of men, and assailed him with such fury, that in a short space of time he put him to the rout, killing more than a hundred, this prince being in the first assault that he attempted as unfortunate as the king of Huva, because he betook himself into the jungle as fearful as the other; and his followers who escaped, such was their fear, that they did not stop until they were inside Candea. With this the *corlas* were cleared, only the prince remaining on the

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[1] Were it not for the statement of Couto that this new commander-in-chief was of royal blood, we might think that the reference was to the famous "rebel" leader Antonio Barreto, who gave so much trouble to the Portuguese for many years afterwards, and whose fate is recorded by Sá y Menezes (see C. A. S. Jl. xi. 510). But Bocarro distinctly says (508) that that man was of "low caste." It is probable, therefore, that it was to this "prince" that the erstwhile Christian *lascarin* succeeded as field-captain-major of the Kandyan army and prince of Uva.

confines of them, two leagues from our arrayal, without daring to go before the tyrant. Which being known to those in the *tranqueira* of Balitote, they sallied forth by night in good order, and in the dawning watch fell upon him with such an uproar, that they put him to flight, and made him once more betake himself to the jungle, and went pursuing him, and burning many villages, hamlets, and *pagodes*: whereby the inhabitants of the *corlas*, undeceived as to the tyrant's being able to defend them, submitted themselves to our obedience[1].

DEC. XII., BK. III., CHAP. X.

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.... At the same time[2] he[3] also dispatched the provision galleon for Ceilão, of which there went as captain Manoel Rodriguez the Genoese[4], and he sent in her two hundred men as succour; and as captain-major of them Dom Bernardo de Noronha and the troops divided among four captains, who were, Simão Ferreira do Valle, Pero Peixoto da Sylva, Luis d'Antas Lobo, and Baltesar Pereira de Castelbranco. ......

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DEC. XII., BK. IV., CHAP. XIII.

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At this same time in which the count admiral dispatched these ambassadors of the king of Travancor, he did the same

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[1] In two letters, both dated 25 January 1601, the king of Spain mentions the good success that Dom Jeronimo had had in Ceylon, as reported by himself and by the viceroy, the latter of whom he charges to send the additional troops needed to finish the conquest. The Goa chamber, however, in December 1599, wrote to the king as follows (*A. P.-O.* i. II. 63–4):—"The conquest of the island of Ceilão is in the condition of which we advise your majesty, and will be as long as your majesty does not provide a captain-general and sufficient force to come from that kingdom chosen to make an end of reducing it all to the service of your majesty, because at present it serves only to consume bit by bit men and money without other effect than giving strength to new rebels to make war on us with as much harm as experience every year plainly demonstrates to us."

[2] In September 1599.

[3] The count viceroy.

[4] *Cf. infra*, XII. v. viii. (p. 445).

also to some captains for abroad, with whom we shall continue. And the first shall be the galleon with the succours and provisions for the fortress of Columbo, in which went as captain-major of the men of war Dom Francisco de Noronha[1], who took one hundred and fifty soldiers divided between these two captains, Luis Fernandez de Taide and Manoel de Taide; and in this same galleon embarked Nuno Fernandez de Taide[2], provided with the captaincy of that fortress, there having come away from it Dom Pedro Manoel [3]; and this galleon set sail on the 3rd of May [1600]. ......

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Dec. XII., Bk. v., Chap. i.

Of the things that took place this year in Ceilão: and of the victories that our people gained, and the tranqueiras *that they made against the enemy.*

After the gaining of the victories that we have described over the tyrant Dom João, and after the succour had reached Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo which, as we have said, the count viceroy sent him in September 1599[4], he mustered his army, and proceeded to the village of Mutapali[5], half a league from the kingdom of Candea, where he erected a fair-sized fort of wood with its fillings and ditches capable of containing the whole arrayal. This fort he made owing to its being midway

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[1] *Cf. supra*, XII. iii. ii., p. 433 ff.

[2] See *supra*, p. 227, note [1].

[3] See *supra*, XII. ii. i. (p. 428). In a letter dated 22 January 1601, the king of Spain writes to the viceroy:—"Dom Pedro Manoel, who was stationed as captain in Columbo, wrote me that he had come away from that fortress in order to be present with the count viceroy in the second expedition against Cunhale, to which the count went in person. And he also says, that what was gained in Ceilão could yield a great part of the expenses of that conquest. I commend to you to inform yourself of this particularly from the said Dom Pedro as well as from other persons of experience of that island, and to recover the returns therefrom in aid of the said expenses."

[4] See *supra*, XII. iii. x. p. 440. In a letter dated 31 January 1602, the king of Spain tells the viceroy that he is informed that in August and September 1599 the conquest of Ceylon was in danger of destruction owing to lack of men, and that it was sustained solely by the good procedure of Dom Jeronimo: wherefore he urges him to send the latter all the succour possible.

[5] Moṭṭáppoliya in Deyáladahamuṇa pattu, Kinigoḍa kóraḷé (see *Kég. Rep.* 37; Knox 177; Boc. 705, 706; Rib. ii. xx.).

between the Seven Corlas and the kingdom of Candea, whereby he continued closing the gates to the enemy, and leaving him inside as it were penned in. This the tyrant resented so strongly, that he preferred rather to risk being destroyed than to submit to that fetter, which was becoming very heavy to him. Wherefore he mustered his troops, and proceeded to encamp in certain rugged and strong mountain fastnesses, with the intention, by means of excursions and assaults, of hindering our people in that work, with which great haste was being made.

Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo was soon informed of his design, and he deemed it necessary to dislodge and eject him thence: because if he fortified himself in that place, beside the hindrance that it would be to the conquest of the kingdom of Candea, the enemy would gain reputation amongst the Chingalas, and they would recover courage on seeing that in despite of our people being so much at grips with them they were erecting *tranqueiras* and fortifying themselves. Wherefore he at once sent Salvador Pereira with two hundred and thirty soldiers and two thousand five hundred native *lascarins* to go and fall upon the enemy of a morning, the general remaining in the place of the *tranqueira* that he was building, with one hundred and fifty soldiers and five hundred *lascarins* ready and fully prepared to hasten to the help of their comrades if necessary. And our men having set out at the beginning of the daylight watch went along the road capturing and razing several *tranqueiras* until they arrived above where the enemy was encamped; and attacking the arrayal, they entered it and burnt it with great determination; and afterwards in the open field, the enemy recovering themselves had with our men a very severe battle: because it is asserted that on the side of the enemy there were three thousand firelocks, there being amongst all eight thousand. But our men held their own with great valour until nearly eleven o'clock in the day, when the captain-general ordered them to return to him, which they did, the tyrant's men pressing upon them so hotly, that it was necessary for the general to succour them with the force that he had, and with fresh munitions, whereby all recovered so much courage, that they turned upon the enemy with such impetuosity that they put them to the rout, they having in this expedition more than three hundred killed, and amongst these many *modeliares*, without there being on our side more loss than two Portuguese killed[1] and about twenty of the *lascarins*, besides many wounded.

[1] It is suspicious that in the affair described in XII. I. xiv. (see p. 426) and in this one only two Portuguese are said to have been killed.

After this victory the general returned to the fort, with which he continued ; and so much haste did he make with it that in a month it was entirely finished, with its ditches and counterditches, and he provided it with a captain with four companies of soldiers, and with food and munitions for a long time, because he was afraid that the enemy would attack it with a larger force, they expecting a succour of Badagas from the opposite coast[1]; and besides this he ordered all the forts that he had in those parts to be reformed, so that they might all be provided for whatever might befall them, which took place until there reached him the succour that the count-admiral sent him[2] by Dom Francisco de Noronha and Nuno Fernandez de Taide as captain of that fortress of Columbo, of which he was at once put in possession, after having reformed the posts, as we have said, and provided them anew, and made new payment to the soldiers. And he ordered all to proceed to the districts of Catu Cambala Corla[3], the frontier of the Seven Corlas, in order to finish extinguishing some conflagrations of the rebels that still existed in those parts ; and everything that our people found there they demolished and devastated, whereupon the enemy betook themselves into the interior of the Corlas, without appearing again.

All having been put to flight, the general ordered to be made in the village of Catu Cambala a fine fort of wood of two faces with their fillings and ditches, which was done, whereby the enemy were intimidated, and our people could invade their territories more freely, and assail them. And because whilst occupied with this work the general was informed that the enemy had once more reformed in the Seven Corlas with the intention of again disquieting our people, the general ordered to attack them two leagues within their territories as far as the place where they were, having cut the roads, and formed in them their earthworks and intrenchments so strong that they were inside them in great confidence. And learning that our men had left behind them many of their villages burnt, and that they had carried off many of their people captive, they sallied forth to attack our men, who were already retiring, and fell upon the rearguard with great fury ; but they met with such resistance that they retreated in flight with many killed :

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[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 427, note [2].

[2] See *supra*, XII. iv. xiii. (p. 441).

[3] The 1645 edition has "Catrem" for "Catu"; the 1788 edition has commas after "Catrem" and "Cambala." Of course Kaṭugampola Mędapattu kóraḷé of the Kaṭugampola hatpattu is meant (*cf.* Boc. 684 ff.).

whereby all the territories of that part, which had been stirred up to rebel, quieted down. And so great was the damage that the inhabitants of the Seven Corlas received, that their princes sent to beg peace of the general, which he did not concede to them; but he conceded to them a truce, with suspension of arms, and restitution of the captives that they had in their territories. In this state the affairs of this island remained in this winter of 1600 in which we are[1].

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[1] This is the last that Couto tells us of events in Ceylon. In a letter to the viceroy, dated 6 February 1602, the king of Spain acknowledges receipt of a letter from Cochin, under date 13 December 1600, and says:—"I rejoice to know that in the conquest of Ceilão there have been prosperous successes, and that that island is almost entirely conquered and obedient to me, and that there are made in it many churches and many Christians by order of the monks of St. Francis, and that Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo had a great victory against Dom João the rebel of Candya, killing and capturing many of his men." He proceeds to urge the viceroy to send to Ceylon the soldiers necessary to finish the conquest once for all, adding that it is not convenient to send from Portugal direct to Ceylon a ship with troops. He continues:—"I was gratified at your telling me that for the garrisons of that island there is in it everything necessary, on account of there being a great quantity of villages from whose rents there will be sufficient return when it is quiet, and that the fertility of that country would thus attract many Portuguese from India. And I was also gratified likewise at the good procedure that Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, captain of that conquest, has in it, from which I hope that with his prudence and experience he will make an end of it with the brevity that is desired. And I commend to you that the returns that you say are in the same island you procure that they be collected and come to my revenue in order to be spent in the same conquest; and because the ship *São Valentim*, as captain of which came Dom Julião de Noronha, by whom you sent me the drawing of that island of Ceilão, has not arrived at this kingdom, nor is there news of her, I commend to you to send me another drawing." (The ship referred to arrived on 8 June 1602 at Cezimbra, where she was captured by the English. What became of the "drawing" of Ceylon I do not know.) In a letter dated 28 February 1602 the king orders the viceroy to send to Ceylon a person of confidence as *vedor da fazenda* to make a fresh *tombo* of all the lands that had been or would be conquered and of the rents of the *pagodes*. (This was not carried into effect until some years later, when Antão Vaz Freire was sent: see *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 211, note.) In a letter of 7 March 1602 the king informs the viceroy that he hears that Dom Jeronimo is appropriating the rents of the lands in Ceylon, and is very rich: regarding which he orders private inquiry to be made (*cf. M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 209, 210, 211 note, 213 note).

DEC. XII., BK. V., CHAP. viii.

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The count continued making haste with the other armada that he had to send to Malavar; and with that for the north, and Malaca, and with the provisions and succours for Ceilão. ...... And on the same day[1] there set sail the provision galleon for Ceilão, of which there went as captain Manoel Rodriguez the Genoese[2], to whom had been granted the voyage; and in her went one hundred and fifty soldiers, and as captain-major of them Pero de Mendanha, and Martim Cota Falcão went as captain of a company of soldiers, and Diogo de Souza de Meneses of another. And the count sent much money, munitions, and other provisions, because always at the beginning and end of the summers he went on recruiting that conquest as best he could.

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[1] 30 September 1600. [2] See *supra*, XII. III. x. (p. 440).

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